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THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF

CHRISTÓBAL SUÁREZ DE FIGUEROA

3852 *Nos. 1-*

BY

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1907

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Romance
Language
&
Literature

NOS. 1-7

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to

DR. HUGO ALBERT RENNERT,

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF MY ESTEEM

PREFACE

THE aim of this monograph is to describe in some detail the life and literary labours of Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa. He is mentioned briefly in all the histories of Spanish literature, but hitherto no one has made a special study of his life and works. Believing that the history of his career furnishes many interesting details concerning Spanish society in the early part of the seventeenth century, and that his literary productions deserve to be better known, I have attempted to collect the chief facts of his life and to examine his books in this volume. Incomplete as it is, it may serve to shed more light on one of the most interesting authors of the *siglo de oro*.

I wish to express my appreciation to the officials of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, to the Director of the Vatican Archives, and to Sig. Cav. Barone, Director of the Archives at Naples, for their kindness in placing at my disposal the manuscripts which I used in the preparation of this work. Lastly, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Hugo Albert Rennert, of the University of Pennsylvania, at whose suggestion this study was begun, for his constant interest and assistance.

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CHAPTER I.

THE YOUTH OF SUÁREZ DE FIGUEROA.

Christóval Suárez de Figueroa ¹ was born at Valladolid, about the year 1571. This date is deduced from a statement in one of his works, *Varias noticias importantes á la humana comunicacion*,² completed in 1620, in which he tells us that he had left his native country thirty-two years before, to travel abroad, that is in 1588. In another work, *El Passagero*,³ he says that he had left home at the age of seventeen, which would place the date of his birth about 1571.

He often speaks in affectionate terms of his native city. In his pastoral romance, *La Constante Amarilis*, under the

¹ Figueroa relates the tradition concerning the origin of his name in the eleventh book of his epic poem, *España Defendida*, as follows: In the days when the Moors were masters of the Spanish peninsula, and the Christians were confined to the mountains of Galicia, Bativa, a Galician youth, courted the fair maiden Rosarda. Their dream of happiness was rudely interrupted by the arrival of a band of Moors, who demanded a hundred maidens as tribute. The Christians were too weak to offer resistance, and when lots were drawn, Rosarda was found to be one of the unhappy victims. Bativa, however, with the aid of a few friends, put the Moors to flight, and on returning from the victory, he took five fig leaves, (*hojas de higuera*) as a blason, and thus received the name Figueroa. This story appeared first in Spanish literature in Berceo's *Vida de San Millan*, stanzas 369-374, and forms the basis of Lope de Vega's comedia, *Las doncellas de Simancas*.

² Madrid, 1621, fol. 213.

³ *El Passagero. Advertencias utilísimas á la vida humana*. Barcelona, 1618, fol. 214.

name of the shepherd Damon, he says: "Yo que me llamo Damon, nací en el antiguo lugar que baña Pisuerga."¹ In his epic poem, *España Defendida*, he refers to his early life as follows:

Yo que Damon (le respondió) me nombro,
 Nací en lugar que es por asiento, y traça
 del mundo gloria, de belleza assombro,
 de Ceres heredad, de Flora plaça:
 Gozoso arrima el respectado ombro
 Pisuerga á su pared, antes la abraça,
 y por dexalla, tal dolor adquiere,
 que apenas della parte, quando muere.²

Moreover, at his trial before the Inquisition, he testified that he was born of noble parents of Valladolid.

It is likely that his family was distantly related to the Dukes of Feria, one of the noblest families of Spain, and whose surname was Suárez de Figueroa. In *España Defendida*, he speaks in flattering terms of D. Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Duke of Feria, who had served his country in many important missions. In the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, a copy of Figueroa's biography of the Marqués de Cañete contains a note which may throw some light on the question.³ In the introduction, where Figueroa is spoken of as *natural de Valladolid*, the word *natural* is crossed out, and *vecino* is inserted. On the margin is a note in a contemporary hand: "*natural de Badajoz, de la*

¹ *La Constante Amarilis*, Madrid, 1781, p. 5. Señor D. Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe in his biography of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, p. 247-248, says that Figueroa was born at Madrid, and was *Doctor de Salamanca*. Both these statements are evident mistakes.

Valladolid is situated on the river Pisuerga.

² *España Defendida*, Madrid, 1612, fol. 36b.

³ *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1613. This copy bears the press-mark ^R15892.

casa de los Dúques de Feria, tio de Don Diego Suárez de Figueroa, tambien famoso escritor." This note may be of little value, since we know that Figueroa was born at Valladolid, and not at Badajoz, but it tends to confirm the theory that he was at least distantly related to the family of Feria.

Alarcon, in his comedia, *Mudarse por mejorarse*, seems to ridicule Figueroa's pretensions to belong to this noble family.¹ We shall see later that this comedia was a reply to Figueroa's attack upon the great dramatist in *El Passagero*, in which Alarcon was censured for having assumed the title Don without the right to do so, and the latter retaliated in this play by casting doubts on Figueroa's right to claim relationship with the family of Feria. We do not know whether his claim was well founded, but his pretensions in this direction must have been well known,

¹ In the second jornada, Scene XIII, the Marqués, wishing to learn how his courtship of Doña Clara is progressing, calls her servant, Figueroa:

Marqués. Dígame agora su nombre.

Figueroa. Figueroa.

Ricardo. ¡ Una miseria!

Es de la casa de Feria.

Marqués. Ese es solo un sobrenombre.

Figueroa. No han de ser desvanecidos.

Los pobres; que es muy cansado

Un hombre en humilde estado

Hecho un mapa de apellidos.

Aun con solo un nombre, veo

Que no me dejan vivir,

Y hay quien ha dado en decir

Que *sin razon lo poseo*;

Mas procuren de mil modos

Los malsines murmurar;

Que por Dios que al acostar

Estamos desquitos todos.

Marqués. Vos, en fin, ¿sois Figueroa?

Figueroa. Por lo menos me lo llamo.

otherwise Alarcon's ridicule would have been pointless. As already mentioned, he testified before the Inquisition that he was born of *noble* parents, but perhaps this merely means that they were *montañeses*.¹

Figueroa tells the story of his early life in *El Pasajero*.² His father was a Galician who had left Coruña with scanty resources, and had gone to Valladolid where he took up the practice of law. He did not exercise his profession with enough vigor to suit his son Christóval, as it afterwards appears, for he thought more of his own pleasure than of increasing the moderate income of his family. However, he did not neglect the education of his two sons, who at an early age were put to work at their books, and under the guidance of his father, the young Christóval began the study of law.

The boy's life at home was not congenial to him, and in a fit of childish anger, this latent discontent was turned to bitter enmity toward his family. When he was seventeen years old, he noticed signs of partiality on the part of his parents toward his brother, who was an invalid. This aroused his envy, and as the favoritism seemed to increase, he determined to leave home and go to Italy. Carefully concealing the real cause of his decision, he obtained the consent of his father, who approved of his ambitious project, but his mother, despite the fact that her

¹ Perhaps Lope de Vega's claim to nobility was based upon the same grounds. See Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, pp. 1-2, note.

It is possible that Figuerola was distantly related to the family of Alba. In an autograph letter, published by H. A. Rennert in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VII, No. 7, pp. 399-400, Figuerola says that he had wished to enter the service of the Duke of Alba in Naples, because of the *vecindad de casas*.

² Barcelona, 1618, fol. 213 ff. A brief outline of Figuerola's life, taken from this source is found in Dr. Rennert's monograph, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Baltimore, 1892, pp. 87 ff.

heart had divined the wayward character of her son, wished him to remain at home, and interposed all manner of objections, while the youth persistently longed to free himself from parental restraint. He was not affected by the grief which his departure caused his parents, and said in their presence that he would not return to Spain as long as they were living, "a promise which I afterwards fulfilled," he adds rather proudly. We see already in the youth of seventeen some of the characteristics which were to be further developed and accentuated in the course of his life: his unsociable and quarrelsome disposition, which later in his career won for him so many enemies; his stubbornness and perseverance when once he had made a decision; and his passion for a roaming life, which gives to the story of his adventures some of the savour of the picaresque novel.

The youth setting out from Valladolid to seek his fortune abroad surely did not realize the importance of the step which he had taken. In the future, his life was to be associated more intimately with Italy than with his own country, and it was to that land that he looked for reward when Spain refused him the recognition which he believed his due.

On this first journey, Figueroa directed his steps toward Barcelona, where he embarked on a galley bound for Civita Vecchia. After crossing the Gulf of Lyons, he reached Genoa, and was delighted with the magnificent situation of the city. He then turned northward, and finally reached Milan by way of Serravalle, Tortona, Voghera and Pavia.¹

¹ The description given by the Doctor (Figueroa) in *El Passagero*, fol. 5b, ff, of the parts of Italy which he had visited is so accurate, that we may consider it an account of his first journey to that country in

On his arrival, the choice of a profession confronted him. Military life, with its poor pay and its many hardships did not attract him, and besides, his lack of experience was a serious drawback. He had spent the money which he had brought from home, and this hastened his decision to take up at once his studies at Bologna or Pavia. He does not say which of these universities he selected, but what little evidence we have points to Pavia. In *El Passagero*,¹ he highly praises the latter university, but nowhere in his works does he mention having visited Bologna. He spent a year, probably from 1588 to 1589, in the study of civil and canon law, and after passing four difficult courses, received his doctorate *en ambos derechos*.² He moreover gives ample testimony in his later works, especially in the *Varias Noticias*, that he did not neglect his classical studies.

Figueroa was a little over eighteen years old when he completed his career at the University, and was well equipped for some honourable post. He probably spent a year at Milan, and in 1591, when D. Juan Hernández de Velasco, Duke of Frias, was appointed Governor of that city, he petitioned him for a position in the King's service. His application was not at first favourably received, but the young man persisted, and finally he was despatched as Auditor of some Spanish troops which were serving in Piedmont against France.³ His duties as Auditor were to advise the officers on legal questions, and to decide civil and criminal cases in the army, although the sentence was pronounced by the military authorities.

1588. All the references to *El Passagero* are to the edition of Barcelona, 1618.

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 10b.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 215.

We do not know his exact term of service, nor in what campaigns he took part, but it is certain that he was present at the final capture of the castle of Cavour in 1595,¹ and that he retired from the army shortly after that date. War did not actually break out between France and Spain until 1595, but for several years previously, Philip II had aided Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, against the attacks of Lesdiguières in Savoy and Piedmont, and it is likely that Figueroa took part in many of the engagements between 1591 and 1595. Early in 1595, the Duke of Savoy determined to attack Cavour, a most important position, which was strongly fortified by the French. Owing to lack of provisions, the defenders were compelled to surrender in May of that year, and with this victory the war in Piedmont came to an end.² This treaty of peace which the Duke of Savoy signed with France threw out of employment his Spanish allies, and as Figueroa makes no mention of having served outside of Piedmont and Savoy, we may infer that his military service ended in 1595. After

¹ In the course of his travels, related in *El Passagero*, fol. 237 ff, he met an innkeeper named Juan, who had served in the army in Piedmont. Juan asked, "Have you by chance ever been in Italy, and especially in Piedmont?" "Yes, my friend," replied Figueroa, "and for several years." "Then I have solved the mystery," continued Juan, "for you were my Auditor. Don't you recognize Juan, *mosquetero* in the company of Don Manuel Manrique, and don't you remember that I used to say to my companions, 'Look! There is the man who judges us'?" As they exchange reminiscences of the war, Juan says, "No doubt you remember the year in which the war in Piedmont came to an end with the final capture of that strong fortress called Cavour." This was the final capture, for Lesdiguières had previously taken Cavour in December, 1592.

² For an account of the capture of Cavour, see Videl, *Histoire de la vie du Connestable de Lesdiguières*, Paris, 1638, pp. 161 ff, and Ricotti, *Storia della Monarchia Piemontese*, p. 190.

the army disbanded, he returned to Milan with a good record of service.¹

For a knowledge of the next few years of his life, we are indebted to a letter written in his behalf by Philip III to the Archduke Albert, dated April 8, 1606, and published in the introduction to his *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*.² Here we learn that up to that time, Figueroa had held the following offices: *Auditor* of the Spanish infantry which served in Piedmont and Savoy; *Abogado Fiscal* in the Province of Martesana; *Contrascritor* of Blados, (these last near Milan); Judge of Teramo, (a city in the Kingdom of Naples), and *Comisario* of the Colateral of Naples.

We do not know how long he held each one of these posts, but he was in Naples in the year 1600, for in his *Varias Noticias*,³ he describes a journey which he took in that year from Naples to the Barbary coast. He refers in *España Defendida* to this period of his life, when he exercised jurisdiction at Naples:

Y si bien soy pastor, como lo advierte
la montera, el pellico, y el ganado,
gozando en otro tiempo de otra suerte,
con mas pompa viví, con mas cuidado:
Mantuve en obediencia al flaco, al fuerte;
baston (no como aora este cayado
torcido) tuve tan derecho, y noble,
que vara en no doblar fué siempre roble.⁴

He was making a success of his profession at Naples, when he learned of the death of his brother and of his parents.⁵ He had refused to listen to their entreaties to

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 215b.

² Appendix, p. 99.

³ Fol. 38.

⁴ Ed. Madrid, 1612, fol. 36b.

⁵ *El Passagero*, fol. 215b.

return home, for he felt that his chances of success were much brighter in Italy than at Valladolid. Finally, however, the love of country overcame his better judgment, and he returned to Valladolid, *á tres años de calificada con-título de corte*,"¹ that is, in 1604, for the Court was established at Valladolid in January, 1601.²

His delight at seeing his native town from afar quickly turned to disappointment on his arrival, for everything had changed during his absence. Instead of the inheritance which he expected, he found nothing but debts and poverty, for his father, in his heedless fashion, had neglected to provide for his son's future. His attempts to secure employment by legitimate means met with no success, and he refused to court favour by presenting petitions setting forth his merits. The little money which he had earned in Italy was soon spent, and his condition became desperate. In these straits, he remembered that, when threatened by ship-wreck on the Gulf of Lyons, he had vowed to make a pilgrimage to the church of Santiago at Compostella, and accordingly, in the absence of any immediate prospect of employment, he decided to fulfil his vow.

He started on his pilgrimage in August, probably in the year 1604, soon after his return to Spain.³ Dressed as a pilgrim, and with five hundred *reals* in his pocket, he set out for Tudela.⁴ He hoped to cover six leagues and

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 215b.

² Señor Cortés in his *Noticias de una corte literaria*, Madrid, 1906, pp. 132-133, says that Figueroa had obtained some position in Italy, probably through the influence of the Marqués de Cañete, and was absent from Valladolid while the Court was there. We have seen that he left Spain under quite different circumstances. Cortés merely mentions that Figueroa had returned to Madrid in 1612.

³ *El Passagero*, fol. 216b, ff.

⁴ Tudela de Duera is a small town in the province of Valladolid.

spend the night at Cuellar, but, weary from his journey, he stopped at an inn to pass the night. There he was exposed to great discomfort, and no sooner had he fallen asleep than he was awakened by a mule driver, who deafened the inn with his cries. The sleepy pilgrim courteously asked him to make less noise, which only angered the insolent fellow, and the result was a quarrel. The mule driver left the inn early the next morning, and on arriving at Cuellar, whispered to the *corregidor* that a traveler of a certain description would soon appear, who had just killed a man at Valladolid. This piece of news delighted the magistrate, and preparations were made to capture the Doctor on his arrival. When Figueroa reached Cuellar in the evening, he was immediately seized on the charge of murder and taken to prison in spite of his protests of innocence. Fortunately for him, a friend who had seen him in prison interested D. Diego de la Cueva, son of the Duke of Albuquerque, in the case and the latter procured his release, and entertained him at his home. The Duke persuaded him to give up his pilgrimage, and Figueroa returned to Valladolid, after spending a month at Vitoria.¹

When Figueroa again returned to his native town in the latter part of the year 1604, that city was not only the capital, but had become the centre of nearly all the literary activity of Spain, for the chief poets and men of letters of the *siglo de oro*, with the exception of Lope de Vega, had followed the Court to Valladolid.² It would be difficult to find in the history of any literature a more imposing

¹ A small town, also in the province of Valladolid.

² Señor Cortés gives an interesting account of the literary men living at Valladolid during this period in his *Noticias de una corte literaria*, Madrid, 1906.

group of literary men than those living at Valladolid during the short space of five years before the Court returned to Madrid. There Agustin de Rójas finished his *Viaje entretenido*, Luis Vélez de Guevara and Antonio de Mendoza were living there in the service of the Conde de Saldaña. Quevedo and Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo were attending the University; and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, Miguel Sánchez, Vicente Espinel and Góngora added lustre to this remarkable Court. In 1605, Pedro de Espinosa published his *Flores de poetas ilustres*, containing for the most part, the verses of poets living at Valladolid. Cervantes arrived there early in the year 1603, and probably wrote two of his novelas in that city, *El Coloquio de los perros*, and *El casamiento engañoso*. Figueroa must have known all these men personally, but judging from the disparaging tone with which he speaks of his life there, we may readily believe that he failed to win their friendship.

Soon after his return to the capital, Figueroa's quarrelsome disposition brought him into trouble. In *El Passagero*,¹ he gives the following account of the affair, which probably took place about March, 1605, "the last year of the Court at Valladolid," as he tells us.² One morning after a session of the Council, a few office-seekers and lawyers were discussing the merits of their respective professions. The debate became heated, and when an insolent fellow declared that the office-seekers lacked ability to become lawyers, the impetuous Figueroa undertook the defense of his colleagues. His adversary continued his insulting remarks, and Figueroa, unable to restrain his anger, stabbed the fellow in the side. His opponent fell to the ground as though dead, the by-standers quickly dis-

¹ Fol. 224b, ff.

² The Court returned to Madrid in March, 1606.

persed, and Figueroa took refuge in the church of San Quirce which stood near by, However, he left there immediately, in order to throw his pursuers off the track, and hid in the church of San Francisco, where a relative of his was a friar. From the latter he learned that his adversary's life was in danger, and he thereupon decided to flee to Andalusia. Disguised as a priest, he travelled to Baeza,¹ and spent the months of April and May at Ubeda and Jaen. From this we may infer that his unfortunate quarrel took place in the month of March.

He spent the summer at Granada, where he fell in love, but the sudden death of the lady filled his heart with sorrow, and he determined to leave the city, now so full of painful memories. He visited Cordova and Seville, and at Puerta de Santa Maria, he made the acquaintance of the poet Luis Carrillo, to whom he pays a tender tribute in *El Passagero*.² After a month's stay at San Lucar, he returned to Madrid with Carrillo, for he had learned that his opponent in the quarrel at Valladolid had recovered, and he could therefore enter the capital without fear of prosecution.

¹ A town in the province of Jaen.

² Fol. 279. Carrillo died in 1610. To him is usually attributed the introduction of the so-called Gongorism into Spain, through the influence of Giovanni Battista Marino. See Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española*, p. 384.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST LITERARY ACTIVITY; TRANSLATES THE "PASTOR FIDO."

We have seen that Figueroa left the King's service in 1604, when he returned to Spain, and had attempted without success to secure favour at Court. In his despair, he petitioned the King for assistance, as a reward for his service of sixteen years in various posts in Italy. The King was favourably impressed by the young man's petition, and on April 8, 1606, wrote a letter to the Archduke Albert, in which he recommended Figueroa for some honourable employment.¹ As far as we know, this appointment was never made, and Figueroa, losing all hope of ever securing office, turned his attention to literary work.

In *España Defendida*, he tells how he had lost the Royal favour, and describes his arrival at Madrid:

"Gran mayoral sirviendo, su ganado
apacenté cuydoso y vigilante;
mas dexóme affligido, y lastimado
quedar atras, en vez de yr adelante:
Bien sabes tu, ques laberinto el hado;
y que á qualquier mortal es importante,
quando discurre más, y más entiende,
dexalle, si perderse no pretende.

¹ This letter was published in the introduction to Figueroa's biography of Don García de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete. See p. 16, and Appendix, p. 99. In the Prologue to this work, Figueroa's friend, Don Gabriel Caravajal de Ulloa, says that the author had taken up literary work after he had left the King's service.

Yo pues, no quise rastrear el mio,
 sino sufrir callando su aspereza;
 aunque tal vez me ví falto de brío,
 que quien no siente el mal, tiene bajeza.
 Guiado de mi ciego desvarío
 vine á la insigne villa, cuya alteza
 tanto sobre las otras se encarama,
 quanto el alto ciprés sobre la grama."¹

He had gone to Madrid with high hopes of success, but was disappointed with the life at Court, for he discovered that the pomp and display of wealth which had dazzled him on his arrival was merely a brilliant exterior beneath which lurked a multitude of evils. The ministers paid no heed to the best interests of the State, and the voice of duty was stilled by their efforts to secure personal advancement, while the city was filled with petty office-seekers, who tried to secure favour by unworthy means. His literary work was harshly criticised, and he was not slow to retaliate by heaping abuse upon his critics.

In the Prologue to *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*, Don Gabriel Caravajal de Ulloa gives an important list of eight books which his friend Figueroa had composed between 1602 and 1612, a very considerable literary achievement. The first work mentioned is the *Espejo de juventud*, written at Naples, probably as early as 1602. Of this first book of our author, we only know that it treated of the good qualities which young gentlemen should possess. It is mentioned in the Prologue to the edition of *España Defendida* (printed at Naples in 1644) among the works composed and published by Figueroa, but no copy of it is known to exist.

The second work of Figueroa mentioned by Caravajal, was his translation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. The original

¹ Fol. 37.

Italian work was first published in 1590, and the innumerable editions which soon followed, both in Italy and abroad, are proof of the favour with which it was received.¹ It was translated into French in 1593, into English by Dymocke, in 1602, and greatly influenced the development of the pastoral drama in those countries. The first Spanish translation was published at Naples in 1602, the work of Christóval Suárez.² The text is preceded by laudatory sonnets in Spanish by Luis Vélez de Santander³ and Alonso de Salazar, and in Italian by Alessandro Ademari and Doctor Vincenzo Bruni. This translation was reprinted at Naples in 1622, which Salvá says is a copy of the edition of 1602.⁴ However, the dedication was changed, for the first edition was inscribed to Balthasar Suárez de la Concha, and the second to Don Juan Battista

¹ Ben Jonson, in *Volpone*, Act III, Scene II, tells how the English poets plundered Guarini:

"All our English writers,
I mean such as are happy in the Italian,
Will deign to steal out of this author, mainly:
Almost as much as from Montagnié:
He has so modern and facile a vein,
Fitting the time, and catching the court-ear!"

² *El Pastor Fido. Tragicomedia pastoral de Battista Guarino. Traducida de Italiano en verso castellano por Christóval Suárez.* Napoles, Tarquinio Longo, 1602. 8°. There is a copy of this rare book in the Biblioteca Communale of Ferrara. See Rossi, *Battista Guarini ed il Pastor Fido*, p. 318.

³ Luis Vélez de Guevara used his mother's apellido, *de Santander*, until about 1603. See *El Diablo Cojuelo*, by Felipe Pérez y González, p. 173.

⁴ *Catálogo*, Vol. I, p. 448. The full title of this second edition reads as follows: *El Pastor Fido, Tragicomedia Pastoral, de Battista Guarino, traducida de Italiano en verso Castellano, por Christóval Suárez, Dottor en ambos derechos, Dirigida al señor Iuan Battista Valenzuela Velázquez, consejero collateral de su M. C. Regente de la Regia Cancellería del Reyno de Napoles.* En Napoles. Por Domingo d'Ernando Maccarano, 1622. 12°.

Valenzuela Velázquez. In this later edition, the author's name is given as Christóval Suárez, *Doctor en ambos derechos*.

In 1609, a new Spanish translation of the *Pastor Fido* appeared at Valencia, the work of Christóval Suárez de Figueroa.¹ The *aprobación* was signed at that city on August 1, 1609, the same day that permission to print *La Constante Amarilis* was granted. Figueroa dedicated his translation to the Duke of Mantua, the friend and patron of Guarini. On September 9, 1609, Celliero Bonatti wrote from Madrid to the Duke of Mantua concerning Figueroa's translation: "Di gia si è stampato il Pastor fido, il quale è riuscito in tutta perfettione. Con il ritorno del Sr. Marchese (Vincenzo Guerrieri), glielo manderò a V. A." ² Allacci mentions a Spanish translation of the *Pastor Fido* by Cristóval Suárez Piaciano de Figueroa, printed at Valencia in 1604 by Pedro Patricio Mey.³ He probably made a mistake in the date as well as in the author's name, for as far as I am aware, no such edition is known.

This version differs as much from the one published at Naples in 1602 as is possible in two works with a common original. The earlier translation with its use of rime, contrasts strongly with Figueroa's version which follows the free and rapidly changing metre of Guarini's poem. The phrasing is totally different, and in no passage could I discover traces of a *rifacimento* of an earlier work. Even the

¹ *El Pastor Fido, Tragicomedia Pastoral de Baptista Guarini. Traduzida de Toscano en Castellano por Christóval Suárez de Figueroa, á Don Vincencio Gonzaga, Duque de Mantua, y de Monferrato. Impreso en Valencia, en casa de Pedro Patricio Mey, junto á S. Martin. 1609. 8º.*

² Vittorio Rossi, *Battista Guarini ed il Pastor Fido*. Torino, 1886, p. 318.

³ *Drammaturgia*, Venezia, 1755, col. 604.

translation of the prose introduction differs entirely in the two versions. A few parallel passages will show to how great a degree these two translations vary. That of Christóval Suárez begins as follows:

Pastores los que encerrado
 Haueis la terrible fiera,
 Partid á dar con cuidado
 De la caza que se espera
 El aviso acostumbrado.
 Pues Cintia á su estudio inclina
 De todas las intenciones,
 Despertad por los cantones
 Los ojos con la bocina,
 Con voces los corazones.
 Sígame todo pastor
 Del campo y selvas amigo,
 Que si es zeloso de honor,
 Hoi en la ocasion conmigo
 Podrá mostrar su valor.
 Vamos donde recogido
 En espacio limitado,
 Mas para pecho atrevido
 Ancho y largo demasiado,
 Está el javalí temido.

Compare this with the beginning of Suárez de Figueroa's translation:

Id vos los qu'encerrastes
 La horrible fiera, á dar la seña usada
 De la futura caza; id despertando
 Con el cuerno los ojos,
 Y con la voz los corazones. Si hubo
 En Arcadia jamás pastor de Cintia
 Y su ejercicio amigo,
 A quien el generoso pecho, gloria
 O cuidado de selvas incitase,
 Hoi lo muestre y me siga
 Hasta donde encerrado
 Está en pequeño cerco,
 Más campo al valor nuestro dilatado,
 Aquel terrible javalí, aquel monstruo
 De la naturaleza y de las selvas.

The chorus at the close of the first book is translated as follows by Christóval Suárez:

O ley alta y nacida
 En el seno glorioso,
 Y en la mente de Jupiter divino
 Cuya fuerça escondida
 Está en el ser precioso,
 Que el orbe siente, ni jamás declina,
 Los ánimos inclina
 Naturaleza ayuda, etc.

and by Suárez de Figueroa:

O en el pecho de Iove,
 Ley alta e poderosa,
 Escrita, antes nacida,
 Cuya suave, y amorosa fuerça
 Está en el bien que no entendido siente
 Toda cosa criada,
 Los ánimos inclina,
 Lo natural esfuerçe, etc.

Figueroa's authorship of the earlier version was first questioned by the Spanish translators of Ticknor. Gayangos noted the difference between the two translations, and believed that since it was not customary for authors or book-sellers to change the dedications of the books they published, the version printed at Naples in 1602 and 1622 was not the work of Figueroa, unless he had made two separate translations, which was not probable.¹ Salvá did not entirely reject this theory, but felt that there was not enough evidence to settle the question definitely.²

¹ *Historia de la literatura española*, Vol. III, p. 543.

Ticknor, *ibid.*, p. 285, says that Figueroa's translation was first published at Naples in 1602, but adds that the edition of Valencia is more correct.

² *Catálogo*, Vol. I, p. 448.

We know that Figueroa had begun to write as early as 1602, that he was in Naples in that year, and that he was *doctor en ambos derechos*, as was the author of the version of 1602. However, there is other evidence which seems to prove that our author took no part in the earlier translation. In *España Defendida*, Figueroa describes his arrival at Madrid, probably in the spring of 1606, after his travels in Andalusia, and he tells how he sought to relieve the disappointment which he felt with life at Court, by translating the *Pastor Fido*:

Tal vez porque mi pena se aflojasse,
quise atraer la musa al dulce canto;
con que orilla del Tajo se quexasse
hize, pastor nacido en Erimanto.
Y aunque su ser la embidia molestasse,
con vituperio suyo, pudo tanto,
que siempre resonante, siempre entera,
mi lyra compitió con la estrangera.¹

We may infer from this passage that Figueroa did not begin his translation until after his arrival at Madrid in 1606.

The translation of 1602 is preceded by laudatory sonnets, a practice which Figueroa bitterly condemned in *El Pasagero*. Nowhere does he speak of having made more than one translation of the *Pastor Fido*, and besides, it is hardly possible that a man could make two translations of the same work in the space of seven years without the second showing plainly that it was an attempt to improve on the first. Moreover, it is not likely that the version of 1602 would have been reprinted if the same author had published a better one in 1609. In his letter to the Duke of Mantua, Celliero Bonatti says that Figueroa's translation had just appeared in 1609, and it is probable that the

¹ Madrid, 1612, fol. 39.

wording of the letter would have been different, if the same author had published an earlier version. From this evidence we may believe that Suárez de Figueroa took no part in the translation of the *Pastor Fido*, published at Naples in 1602.

The question may be asked, if Christóval Suárez was not Christóval Suárez de Figueroa, who was he? Gayangos offered the explanation that perhaps this first translation may be attributed to a poet named Christóval Suárez Triviño, who wrote some verses for the poetical contest celebrated in honour of San Isidro in 1620.¹ However, we have no other facts in regard to this poet, and nowhere else in the history of Spanish literature do we meet the name of Christóval Suárez.

The superiority of Figueroa's version over the earlier one has never been questioned. By following the original metre he was better able to reproduce the spirit of Guarini's text. His translation is accurate, and still preserves the rapid movement, the wealth of colour and poetic imagery, and the keen sense for the beautiful, which characterize his original. Especially in the lyric passages, we feel that the *Pastor Fido* loses little of its charm in its Castilian dress, and that it is worthy of an honoured place among the best translations in the Spanish language. Cervantes mentions it with praise in *Don Quixote*.² After speaking rather

¹ *Historia de la literatura española*, Vol. III, p. 544.

² Part II, Chap. LXII.

The *Pastor Fido* was again translated into Spanish by Doña Isabel Rebeca de Correa. This version was published at Amsterdam and Antwerp in 1694. She says in the Prologue, that after reading the *Pastor Fido*, she eagerly desired to translate it into Castilian, "y aunque Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa se adelantó en el intento, y lo consiguió, no por esso desmaí en la trabajosa empresa; antes me puso espuelas á la execucion." She even boasted of having improved upon the original in some parts, but her own high opinion of her work has not been shared by posterity.

slightly of translations and translators, he adds, "Fuera desta cuenta van los dos famosos traductores, el uno el Doctor Christóbal de Figueroa en su *Pastor Fido*, y el otro Don Juan de Xáuregui en su *Aminta*, donde felizmente ponen en duda qual es la traducción ó qual el original."

CHAPTER III.

LA CONSTANTE AMARILIS.

We have seen that Figueroa was very much dissatisfied with life at Madrid. His keen criticism of the evils at Court brought upon him the ill-will of the ministers, and his own lack of success made him bitter against those who were more fortunate. He gladly accepted an opportunity to leave the capital, and entered the service of Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, who was living at Barajas, a small town in the province of Cuenca. It was to this friendship that Figueroa's pastoral romance, *La Constante Amarilis*, owes its origin. In *España Defendida* he speaks of his departure from Madrid, and his life in the country:

Mas como viesse (ocioso de contino)
quel cano Rey irreparable buela,
de mi mal á mi bien abrí camino,
y al punto puse á mi tardança espuela:
Iuzgué la Corte el pecho de Cratino,
y antes que me dexasse, al fin dexéla;
sacando en vez del padecido daño,
(que no fué poco) un cuerdo dessengaño.

Boluíme pues á la quietud sagrada
destos montes, y seluas, destos prados,
donde está mi fatiga bien pagada,
donde triunfo feliz de mis cuydados.¹

La Constante Amarilis was published at Valencia in

¹ Madrid, 1612, fol. 39b.

1609,¹ and was dedicated to Don Vincencio Guerrero, Marqués de Montebelo. Figueroa tells the story of its composition in *El Passagero*.² Some years before, a friend asked him to celebrate the beauty and constancy of his fiancée in a pastoral romance like the *Galatea* or *Arcadia*. He hesitated to accept, but was finally obliged to undertake the task, which proved to be very distasteful. He was forced to write rapidly, for his friend constantly urged him to finish the book without delay.

In the Prologue Figueroa says that his purpose was to celebrate the constancy and suffering of two persecuted lovers, from the beginning of their lives until their happy marriage. In his dedication to Don Vincencio Guerrero, he says, "These discourses contain a recent story of such worthy love, that from it, the most ardent lovers can learn how to attain their desires by long suffering." In the Prologue he offers as an excuse for the faults of the book that it was composed and written in two months, "as many know, and especially the persons celebrated in it." It is evident that we have to do here with a *roman à clef*, and that the story upon which it was founded was well known.

In making an actual occurrence the subject of his pastoral, Figueroa merely followed a convention which dates back to Theocritus, and which had been employed in Spain by Montemayor, Cervantes, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, and Lope de Vega.³ Sometimes the poet introduced his friends or his

¹ *La Constante Amarilis. Prosas y versos de Christóval Suárez de Figueroa. Divididos en quatro Discursos.* Valencia, junto al molino de Rouella. año mil 600. y nueve (1609). 8°.

² Fol. 69.

³ For a full treatment of the pastoral romances in Spain, see Dr. H. A. Rennert's monograph, *Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Baltimore, 1892.

patron into the story as shepherds, and in some cases, he told of his own love affairs in this way. Lope refers to this practice in his lively comedia, *La Moza de Cántaro*. Doña Ana accuses Don Juan of having sung the praises of a *moza de cántaro*, but adds:

Si es disfrazar vuestra dama,
Como suelen los poetas,
Por tratar cosas secretas
Sin ofensa de su fama,
Está bien; pero si no,
Bajo pensamiento ha sido.¹

The plot of *La Constante Amarilis* is quite simple. Damon, a shepherd from the banks of the Pisuerga, comes to a fair plain, not far from Madrid, where the shepherds and shepherdesses, under the leadership of Menandro, were enjoying the delights of pastoral life, the most important feature of which was love-making. Menandro welcomes the new-comer and relates to him the sad story of his love-affair.² He had fallen passionately in love with his cousin Amarilis, who was confined in a convent. They had succeeded in seeing each other many times, and finally became engaged.

The match was bitterly opposed, however, by the lady's family. The affair reached the King's ears, and Amarilis was confined in another prison, while Menandro was detained on his estates near Madrid. Finally it was announced to the shepherds that Menandro's marriage would soon be celebrated, for the Pope had granted a dispensation allowing the cousins to marry. Here we have all the elements of a genuine romantic story, the abduction of a girl from a convent, the consequent disgrace, the King's dis-

¹ Act II, Scene III.

² *La Constante Amarilis*, 1781, pp. 33-37.

pleasure; blood relationship makes the union still more difficult, when the *deus ex machina* appears to untie the knot in the form of a dispensation from the Pope. This looks like pure fiction, but as we shall see, it is an absolutely true story.

The marriage celebrated by Figueroa in *La Constante Amarilis* was that of Don Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, with Doña María de Cárdenas, daughter of D. Bernardino de Cárdenas, Duke of Maqueda, and of Doña Luisa Manrique de Lara, Duchess of Nájera.¹ Both contracting parties belonged to families of the highest nobility. D. Juan Andrés de Mendoza was a son of D. García de Mendoza, fourth Marquis of Cañete, and famous for his victories over the Araucanians in Chile. He was born about 1563, and early in life married Doña María Pacheco y Bobadilla, daughter of the Count of Chinchón. At the age of twenty-five, he accompanied his father to Peru, of which country the latter had just been appointed Viceroy. His wife, Doña María, died soon after the return to Spain in 1596, and Don Juan married as second wife, Doña María de la Cerda, daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli. She died soon after the marriage, and in 1609 Don Juan took as third wife, Doña María de Cárdenas y Manrique. Lopez de Haro,² writing in 1622, says that five children had been born to them.

¹ This identification of the principal characters of *La Constante Amarilis* was published by me in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXI, 1906, pp. 8-11.

Clemencin, note to *Don Quixote*, Vol. VI, p. 441, conjectured that the Amarilis of Figueroa was perhaps the actress María de Córdoba, from the fact that she was generally known under the name of Amarilis.

² *Nobiliario*, Vol. II, p. 353.

Juan Pablo Martyr Rizo, in his *Historia de la muy noble y leal ciudad de Cuenca*, Madrid, 1629, p. 215, speaks as follows of D. Juan Andrés: "Sus virtudes son generales, sus defetos (si algunos tiene como hombre) particulares, que parecen no de otra manera, que átomos invisibles en la grandeza de su reputacion."

Our sources of information in regard to the marriage of Don Juan Andrés and Amarilis, are Cabrera de Córdoba's *Relaciones*, and Figueroa's biography of Don García de Mendoza, Don Juan's father. These accounts agree so closely with the version of the affair in *La Constante Amarilis*, that there can be no doubt as to the identity of the principal characters.

Damon, the shepherd from the banks of the Pisuerga, is Figueroa himself, born at Valladolid, which is situated on that river. He adopted the same name in his epic, *España Defendida*. We have seen that Menandro related to Damon how he had fallen in love with his cousin Amarilis who was confined in a convent, that they had made mutual promises of marriage before a notary, and that the opposition of the family of Amarilis to the match had led to the imprisonment of both of them.¹ Let us see how closely Cabrera de Córdoba's account, dated September 29, 1607, of this third matrimonial venture of D. Juan Andrés de Mendoza, corresponds to the above version:²

"Ha sucedido que la duquesa de Nájera tenía su hija mayor Doña María en un monasterio de Torrijos, y por algunos medios que hubo Don Hurtado, hijo del Marqués de Cañete, fué allá, y delante de un escribano se dieron palabra de casarse, y poder para traer dispensacion para efectuarlo.³ Esto llegó á la noticia de la Duquesa, que lo tomó con mucho sentimiento, y prendieron á don Hurtado y le tienen con dos guardas en casa de un alcalde de Corte, y enviaron otro alcalde al monasterio para que guardase á la dicha doña María, que nadie la hable, ni le pueda dar

¹ *La Constante Amarilis*, Madrid, 1781, pp. 33-36.

² Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en España*, 1599-1614, p. 316.

³ This was necessary because they were cousins.

ni recibir de ella recaudos ni dádivas, y se puso pena á la Duquesa y al Duque su hijo para que no puedan ir allá. Dícese que la Duquesa mostraba poca voluntad á la hija y quería que fuese religiosa, y por no quererlo ser, la trataba con aspereza y no le daba lo que había menester, y fué necesario acudir al consejo para que le mandase dar alimentos; y este rigor ha sido causa de la que ha sucedido, y querer la Duquesa casar otra hija menor con grande dote; y ha mandado S.M. que no se escriba sobre este negocio, lo que hace creer tendrá efecto el casamiento."

Figueroa in his *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza* also refers to this marriage: "Mientras atendía á esto, se le recreció una ocasion de gravissimo cuidado. Esto fué el tratado casamiento de su mayorazgo con Doña María de Cárdenas, hija de los Duques de Maqueda y Nájera. Hiziéronse de la otra parte para impedirle las diligencias posibles, (por tener ya de otro matrimonio hijo varon sucesor de su casa y estado), no solo en España con su Magestad, sino en Roma con el Pontífice, de quien pendía la dispensacion del parentesco que avía entre los dos."¹

If we examine the story which Menandro related to Damon (Figueroa) of his love-affair, we find that it corresponds closely to the above. He says that formerly he took pleasure in entertaining with music and celebrating in verse the shepherdesses of the Manzanares, but never had his heart been touched by love, a rather remarkable statement when we remember that he had already been twice married. He continues: "Passing from one village to another, I happened to hear of the beauty and perfection of my cousin Amarilis. In strict confinement, owing to the wishes of her family, she was honouring a small place, etc." He determined to go and see her, and his joy knew no

¹ Madrid, 1613, p. 322.

bounds when he could "*pelar la pava*" at her window. "I went to see her frequently," he says, but the presence of the stranger caused some disturbance in the neighbouring farm-houses, "and the last time, hastening our plans, we solemnly promised to become man and wife, and thereupon, the sun which nourished my life, was hidden."¹ Cabrera de Córdoba says that Don Juan Hurtado went to the convent at Torrijos, where Doña María de Cárdenas was confined, and before a notary they mutually made a promise of marriage.

Menandro continues: "Finally, when the affair was known, her relatives, for certain reasons, tried to destroy the marriage bond, asking our Supreme Shepherd, (the King), to proceed against me with all severity, for what I had attempted." They were both put in confinement, and he tells Damon "that the moon had shown a full face sixteen times since his troubles began." Cabrera de Córdoba's account of the discovery of their relations is dated September 29, 1607, and the action of the *Constante Amarilis* is supposed to take place after a lapse of sixteen months, or the early part of the year 1609. This corresponds to the date March 29, 1609, given by Figueroa in *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza* as the date of the marriage of Don Juan Hurtado with his cousin.² We have already seen that Cabrera de Córdoba speaks of the hostility of Doña María's family to the match, and that when their relations were discovered both parties were kept closely guarded, while the lady's family appealed to the King for aid.

Near the close of the *Constante Amarilis*, we read that Menandro's troubles are about at an end. "In the meantime, the father of Menandro, a famous shepherd, whose

¹ *La Constante Amarilis*, 1781, p. 35.

² Madrid, 1613, p. 321.

valiant sword penetrated with rare glory the two extremes of the world,¹ petitioned the Supreme Priest, (the Pope), to remove the bar of relationship which hindered the happy marriage of Menandro and Amarilis, and after some difficulty, so just a petition was granted.”² The Temporal Power (the King) had to yield to the Spiritual Power (the Pope) and so the confinement of the lovers ceased, and their marriage was expected without delay. Great was the joy of Menandro and Amarilis when they saw the end of their misfortunes, and then followed the congratulations of Menandro’s family and friends.

Cabrera de Córdoba in a letter dated April 11, 1609, gives the following account of the wedding:³ “El casamiento de don Hurtado, hijo del Marqués de Cañete, se hizo en Barajas,⁴ asistiendo los de la casa de Lemos como deudos,⁵ con la hija de la Duquesa de Nájera; aunque la madre lo ha procurado impedir y contradecir la dispensacion, y cuando no ha podido más, en lugar de librea, ha dado á sus criados luto, y se ha mandado á los casados se vayan á residir en Argete, lugar del Marqués, hasta ver si se pueden reducir en la gracia de la Duquesa.”

Figuerola gives additional details of the wedding in *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*:⁶ “Estos importunos debates brotando no corto sentimiento, apuraron demasiado la salud del Marqués: porque necessitado de tratar solo deste punto, le era forçoso recorrer por instantes á su Magestad, acudiendo con informaciones á casas de Ministros, y con

¹ This praise was due to Don García’s victories over the Araucanians in Chile.

² P. 277.

³ *Relaciones*, p. 367.

⁴ Barajas is a small town in the province of Cuenca.

⁵ Don García de Mendoza’s first wife was Doña Teresa de Castro, daughter of Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos.

⁶ Madrid, 1613, p. 322.

súplicas á Roma. Al cabo, vencidos tan fuertes contrastes, se concluyó el deseado matrimonio, en veyntinueve de Março de seiscientos y nueve. Apadrinóle el conde de Lemos, don Pedro Fernández de Castro (entonces Presidente del Real Consejo de las Indias, y oy Virrey del Reyno de Nápoles), junto con la Condesa su mujer. Señalóse Barajas para el desposorio; donde los padrinos hizieron admirar á los circunstantes con la espléndida comida, y aparato de lo demás necessario que al improviso mandaron prevenir. Buelta á Madrid parte del acompañamiento, pasaron los esposos aquel dia tres leguas más adelante, á una villa suya, llamada Argete. Apenas corrieron seys meses despues de la conclusion destas bodas, quando el Marques se sintió agravadissimo de la gota." The Marquis became rapidly worse and died October 15, 1609 at the age of seventy-four years.

In 1609, D. Juan Andrés succeeded to his father's estates and to the title of Marqués de Cañete, and both he and Doña María were still living in 1628, when Juan Pablo Martí Rizo wrote his *Historia de Cuenca*. Doña María was celebrated by the poet Alonso de Salas Barbadillo in his *Rimas Castellanas*, a work dedicated to the Marqués de Cañete. The dedication concludes with this high tribute to Doña María:

La eleccion de tan alta compañía
 Como la que gozays merece historia,
 Escrita en consonancia, y armonía.
 Pues mi señora, la Marquesa, gloria
 De vuestros braços, y blason de España,
 Con que no haze admirable su memoria?
 Si demás de la sangre que acompaña
 De Manrique, y de Cárdenas sus venas
 Con quien la misma Real no se halla estraña.¹

¹ *Rimas Castellanas*, Madrid, 1618.

Christóval de Mesa also celebrated Doña María de Cárdenas in a poem written in her honour :

Unico honor de toda Estremadura,
 Lo que me aueys mandado agora canto,
 Que desde la monástica clausura,
 Vuestro valor al mundo causa espanto:

Que ilustrando de Cárdenas el nombre,
 El resplandor de vuestra clara llama,
 Podrá de Reyno en Reyno y de hombre en hombre,
 Dar mayor buelo á vuestra eterna fama.¹

La Constante Amarilis contains much veiled flattery of Figueroa's patron and of the family of Cañete. By means of a dream, a device often employed in the pastoral romances, we learn of the honourable part taken by Menandro's ancestors in the victories of the Spaniards over the Araucanians in Chile:² "Fuéron, viéron y venciéron, alcanzando en diferentes batallas gloriosos trofeos, fixando el estandarte de Austria en los encumbrados cerros jamás domados, y poniendo con heroica virtud las invencibles plantas sobre las essentas cervices."³ Then Clio prophesies that Heaven has reserved for Menandro the final victories over that proud nation, and tells of his triumphant return to Spain after his conquest of Arauco.⁴

¹ *Rimas*, Madrid, 1611, fol. 220.

² He referred to Menandro's grandfather, D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Viceroy of Peru, and to his father, D. García, Governor of Chile in 1557 and Viceroy of Peru in 1588.

³ *La Constante Amarilis*, p. 126.

⁴ It appears that Figueroa anticipated matters in relating the deeds of D. Juan Andrés de Mendoza in Chile, since as far as I know, he took no part in the war there after his father's return to Spain in 1596. Figueroa himself apologizes for this in his prologue to the Reader: "I know well that the prophecy of the victory over Arauco by Menan-

Figueroa's intimacy with D. Juan de Mendoza continued for several years, at least until 1616, when he dedicated to him the second edition of his *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*. Although he intimated in *El Passagero*¹ that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for his labour in writing his pastoral romance, he repeated his praise of the fair Amarilis in *España Defendida*:²

Celebré con el nombre de constante
del sacro Mançanares en la orilla,
aquella dulce amada, y tierna amante,
de belleza, y auiso marauilla:
Mas otra vez que mi çampoña cante,
tendrá su nombre entre los orbes silla,
porque buelto deidad de su alta gloria,
á la posteridad quede memoria.

La Constante Amarilis follows the same general plan of all the pastoral romances, for the conventional form was so firmly established that there was little opportunity for originality of treatment. According to a tradition of long standing, the flocks roamed at will over the hills, while the shepherds and shepherdesses met in a shady grove to discuss the merits of poetry or some subtle question of love. We complain of the artificiality of this form of literature, but we must remember that the poets no more attempted to

dro may seem strange to you, but be sure that what is written here is based on what a certain eminent astrologer judges from his birth." It is likely that Don Juan intended to take part in the war in Chile, but later changed his mind.

¹ Speaking of his pastoral romance in *El Passagero*, fol. 69b, he says, "It must be remembered that without ever having seen the lady, I gave her the name of most fair, discreet and constant." The Master replies, "It was no slight service, no doubt the lady knew how to appreciate it," and the Doctor (Figueroa) answers rather bitterly, "*Con muda lengua y apretado puño.*"

² Fol. 39.

describe real pastoral life than did Watteau to paint real shepherds, and no one laughed more heartily at the incongruities of the *genre* than Cervantes in his *Coloquio de los perros*, although to the end of his life he promised to complete his pastoral, the *Galatea*.

Of all the forms of literature which were popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the pastorals have most completely passed out of fashion. The constant use of classical mythology and allegory is wearisome, and we yawn over the wordy and insipid love-making. The descriptions of Nature in *La Constante Amarilis* are conventional, and more often reproduce the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro than the country about Madrid. The language is pure, and shows no trace of the obscure figures and barbarous words which were later to invade Spanish prose and verse. The book seems to have been ignored by most of the poets of the period, but Cervantes speaks of it with praise in the *Viaje del Parnaso*:

Figueroa estotro el Doctorado,
Que cantó de Amarili la constancia
En dulce prosa, y verso regalado.

In 1614, a French translation of *La Constante Amarilis*, by N. Lancelot, was published at Lyons.¹ In this edition the French and Spanish texts appear side by side. The Spanish text was published again at Madrid in 1781.

Like all the other pastoral romances, *La Constante Amarilis* is interspersed with verses, many of which were

¹ *La Constante Amarilis, de Cristoual Suarez de Figueroa. Divisée en quatre Discours. Traduite d'Espagnol en François, par N. L. Parisien. a Lyon. Par Claude Morillon. M.DC.XIII. 8°.*

Lancelot also translated Lope de Vega's *Arcadia* in 1624, with the title *Délices de la vie pastorale*. See H. Koerting, *Geschichte des franzoesischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*, p. 65.

already written when he was asked to celebrate the marriage of D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza and Doña María de Cárdenas. The versification is smooth and polished, but the true lyric note is rarely present. Sometimes, however, his poetry is really of the first order, and his best work is undoubtedly contained in this book. The following poems are especially worthy of mention: the sonnet at the beginning of the second discourse;

Ya la madre de amor luciente estrella
se muestra más alegre, viva y pura.¹

Meliseo's *cancion*;

Si en tan desesperada despedida,
y en ocasion de tanto sentimiento.²

Clariso's sonnet on the simple life;

O bien feliz el que la vida passa,
sin ver del que gobierna el aposento.³

Manilio's song to *Amarilis*;

Quando al nacer del día
prados se ven reir, y cantar aves.⁴

and Arisindo's sonnet to *Silvia*;

Silvia cruel, por quien el trance estrecho
del ultimo suspiro me atormenta.⁵

¹ P. 75.

² P. 104.

³ P. 115.

⁴ P. 239.

⁵ P. 253.

CHAPTER IV.

ESPAÑA DEFENDIDA AND THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE MARQUÉS DE CANETE. LITERARY ACTIVITY FROM 1612 TO 1616.

We have no details of Figueroa's life between 1609, when he wrote *La Constante Amarilis*, and 1612, when his epic poem, *España Defendida*,¹ was published at Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta. He must have been busily engaged in literary work, for in the prologue to *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*, the *Aprobación* for which was signed August, 1612, we read of the eight books which he had written in the preceding ten years. Five of these were probably composed between 1609 and 1612.

We know that Figueroa entered the service of Don Juan de Mendoza in 1609, when he left Madrid, disgusted with the life at Court; and we may infer from the following lines in *España Defendida*, that he was still in the service of that nobleman when he composed his epic poem:

Boluíme á la quietud sagrada
destos montes, y seluas, destos prados,
donde está mi fatiga bien pagada,
donde triunfo feliz de mis cuydados.²

He dedicated *España Defendida* to his patron, and eulogized him in the third stanza of the poem:

¹ *España Defendida. Poema Heroyco de Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. año 1612. Con privilegio. En Madrid. Por Juan de la Cuesta.*

² Fol. 39b.

Generoso don Juan, gran decendiente
 de tanto Héroe, famoso en toda parte,
 baston á cuya diestra; á cuya frente
 la rama honró, que eternidad reparte;
 hijo de aquel magnanimo, y prudente,
 que en paz Iupiter fué, y en guerra Marte,
 oy tenga el don en vuestra sombra escudo,
 aunque pequeño, y de caudal desnudo.¹

Like nearly all the epic poets of his time, Figueroa looked to Italy for his model. In the prologue, he praises Tasso for having most faithfully observed the precepts of Horace concerning epic poetry, and he frankly confesses that he imitated the Italian poet in writing his own epic, "and so closely, in part of the general plan, and in two or three incidents of the battle between Orlando and Bernardo, that it might be called a version of that of Tancredo and Argante. I used even the same figures, (let the censor take note of this, lest he imagine that I try to conceal or pass off as false, that which he will call stolen,) and I would that I had the ability to translate it all into our language with the same elegance and force which it possesses in its own."

As Figueroa frankly admits, the general outline of *España Defendida* closely resembles Tasso's great epic, and it would be easy to point out many parallel passages in the two poems. However, Figueroa should not be too harshly criticised on the score of lack of originality, for although most of the Spanish epics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries treated national subjects, almost without exception they borrowed their form and style of treatment from

¹ In the edition of this poem, published at Naples in 1644, the only other edition known, this stanza is omitted. He intimated in *El Pasajero* that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for having written *La Constante Amarilis*, and perhaps for the same reason he omitted this stanza in praise of his patron when the poem was republished.

the Italian epics. Besides, Figueroa's imitation was in no way slavish, and stanzas are not lacking in which we find delightful poetic fancies, or the fire and vigour of a dramatic situation.

The poem is divided into fourteen books, or cantos, in octaves, and relates the victory of the Spaniards, led by Bernardo del Carpio, over Charlemagne and the invading army of Franks, at the battle of Roncevaux.¹ The argument of the poem, in brief, is as follows: Alfonso the Chaste, being old and without heirs, agreed to present his crown to Charlemagne, which the latter readily accepted, but the Spanish nobles, resenting this intrusion by a foreigner, annulled the King's pact. Charlemagne, however, insisted that the agreement be fulfilled, and after waiting five years, sent Roland and Archbishop Turpin to demand the crown in his behalf. The proposals of these ambassadors were promptly declined by the Spaniards, and they retired with threats of war. The Spanish army led by Bernardo del Carpio, and aided by the Moors, defeated the invading army at Roncevaux, and Bernardo killed the mighty Roland in single combat.

This bare outline gives little idea of the merits of the poem. Soon after the opening of the first canto, we have a strikingly dramatic scene, in which Figueroa appears at his

¹ The story of Bernardo del Carpio is a curious example of the way an old story is changed to meet the peculiar requirements of a nation. The story of Charlemagne's invasion of Spain, as told in the *Chanson de Roland*, hurt the national pride of the Spaniards, and to offset this they composed their own version, according to which Roland was defeated in single combat by Bernardo del Carpio, the champion of the Asturian army, when on the point of entering Spain. Señor Menéndez y Pelayo has fully treated the story of Bernardo del Carpio in the introduction to Lope de Vega's comedias, *Las Mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio* and *El Casamiento en la muerte*, in the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega, Vol. VII.

best. Alfonso and his councillors listen to the threats of war from Archbishop Turpin, should they refuse to acknowledge the rights of Charlemagne. Alfonso, with becoming gravity, bids Turpin tell his master not to insist on troubling one who offers friendship, but that if the Emperor should decide to invade Spain, he would need all the forces of the Empire in the struggle. Then Roland, the great paladin, with a fiery glance, asks for the final answer:

En suma, guerra, y paz teneys delante,
sepa qual de las dos más os agrada?
Guerra (dixeron todos al instante)
aquí la guerra sola es aceptada.
Apenas esto, quando el prouocante
terció la capa, y empuñó la espada
diziendo con mayor corage, y brío:
Pues á guerra mortal os desafío.

Quien desprecia la paz, aya la guerra,
que jamás huuo falta de renzillas:
yo solo pondré fuego á vuestra tierra;
y assolaré yo solo vuestras villas.
Sé, que vuestro sagrado es esta tierra,
mas bien le violarán nuestras cuchillas;
seruirán á los suyos de Obeliscos
las encumbradas puntas de sus riscos.¹

Finally, after long preparations, the two armies are drawn up facing each other and, mid cries of St. Denis and Santiago, the battle begins. Many deeds of valour are performed on both sides, but the God of War favours the Spaniards, and soon the troops of Charlemagne retreat in disorder across the mountains, with the Asturians in hot pursuit. Bernardo meets Roland, by chance, on the battle field, and the description of their fight to the death is full of dramatic fire. Roland draws first blood, but this only

¹ Madrid, 1612, fol. 15.

urges the Asturian to greater efforts, and the struggle goes on:

Medroso dexa el páxaro su nido
al resonar de la espantable guerra,
y el bruto, con assombro repetido,
ve la gruta temblar donde se encierra:
Da, á los ecos el monte estremecido,
de trastornarse amagos, y la tierra
oprimida de fuerças tan estrañas,
ya parece que exhala las entrañas.¹

Roland deals a mighty stroke with both hands, but Bernardo avoids the blow, and with a timely thrust, remains victor of the field.

España Defendida was reprinted at Naples in 1644, and this is spoken of as the fifth edition, revised and corrected by the author.² Inasmuch as no edition of the poem between 1612 and 1644 is known, it has been doubted whether this is really the fifth edition. In the prologue to the later edition, the author intimates that the book had received a certain amount of adverse criticism: "I know well that intelligent persons esteemed this work, for they know the value of study. From these, and not from idiots opposed to all learning, I recognize what praise it merits." In this new edition, the verses were in many cases improved, and a number of new stanzas were inserted. As has been already said, the third stanza of the edition of 1612, in praise of D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza is omitted.

We know nothing of Figueroa's life in 1612, except that in that year he wrote a short prologue to *La Cruz*, a re-

¹ Ed. of Naples, 1644, Book XIV. This stanza is not found in the edition of 1612.

² *España defendida. Poema Heroico de D. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. Auditor de exercito y Provincia que fue por su Magestad. En esta quinta impresion por su autor reconocido, y de las erratas enmendado. En Napoles. Por Egidio Longo. 1644. 4°.*

ligious poem in five cantos by Albanio Ramirez de la Trapa. The following year appeared his biography of Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, fourth Marquis of Cañete.¹ The first *Aprobación* was signed by Fray Alonso Remon in October, 1612, and the book appeared about April, 1613. The work was dedicated to the Duke of Lerma, but as we shall see later, Figueroa was probably disappointed in the reward which he expected to receive from the Duke, for he dedicated the second edition, which appeared in 1616, to his old patron, D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza.

In the prologue, Captain Gabriel Caravajal de Ulloa, a friend of Figueroa, gives a list of eight books which the latter had composed between 1602 and 1612, beginning with the *Espejo de Juventud*, written at Naples. In speaking of the seventh book written by Figueroa during this period, he says, "Likewise, at the request of Padre Fray Juan Bautista, of the Order of Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes, he translated the first volume of the *Obras espirituales* of Madre Bautista of Genoa,² a most holy servant of God, and a very illustrious woman, whose divine meditations are considered revelations, like those of Santa Ger-

¹ *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Quarto Marques de Cañete. A Don Francisco de Roxas y Sandoual, Duque de Lerma, Marques de Denia, etc. Por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa.* En Madrid. En la Imprenta Real. año MDCXIII.

² Battista Vernaccia, the authoress of these verses, was born at Genoa in 1497. At the age of thirteen she was called to the service of God, and became a nun in the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie, in that city. After a long life spent in study and religious works she died in 1587, and the next year her writings were published at Venice in three volumes, with the following title: *Opere Spirituali della devota Vergine di Christo, D. Battista Vernaccia, Genovese.* In 1602, a fourth volume appeared at Venice, containing a life of the nun by Padre Dionisio da Piacenza. For an account of her life and works, see *Gli Scrittori Liguri descritti dall' Abbate Michele Giustiniani.* Rome, 1667, pp. 129-130, and Soprani, *Li Scrittori della Liguria*, Genoa, 1667, p. 55.

trude. This will be printed shortly." It is not likely that this translation was ever published, for we do not find it mentioned in the lists of his works which Figueroa published in *El Passagero*, in *Pusilipo*, nor in the edition of *España Defendida*, published at Naples in 1644. Figueroa shows a strong religious tendency in his works, and no doubt the task of translating the devout lyrics and mystic dissertations of the Genoese nun proved congenial to him. However, since his version was not published, we can not judge of its merits. Our loss is probably not a serious one.

But to return to the *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*. This biography was the outcome of an effort on the part of D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza to restore his father's prestige, and to show his deeds in Chile and Peru in their true light. In order to understand the part which Figueroa took in this effort, we shall have to consider briefly the events which led to it.

In the year 1557, D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza was sent as Viceroy to Peru, and on his arrival, he learned of a revolt of the brave inhabitants of Arauco, in Chile. He immediately despatched thither his young son, Don García as Governor, who with a small force defeated the Araucanians in seven pitched battles. Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga was one of this brave little band of Spaniards, and we read in his epic, *La Araucana*, how the natives were gradually brought under the yoke of his Catholic Majesty. In 1588, Don García was sent to Peru as Viceroy, and on his return to Spain in 1596 was held in high favour at Court until the accession of Philip III in 1598, when he was forced into the background by the favourites of the new King.

Although it is true that Ercilla related the deeds of the Spaniards in Chile in his *Araucana*, the friends of Don García felt that he had not been assigned in the poem the

important part which he deserved as leader in the war. This was probably due to a personal grudge on the author's part, for we know that Ercilla and Juan de Pineda had quarreled at a joust in 1566, and that the vigorous young Governor, Don García, had threatened to hang them both.¹ Ercilla could not forgive this affront, and in his epic he took good care not to overestimate the importance of the rôle played by the commander. However, panegyrists were not lacking to celebrate Don García in prose and verse, and to "burn on his altars all the perfumes of flattery." The first to defend his cause was Pedro de Oña, a young Chilean poet, who related the conquest of Arauco, and glorified the valour of Don García de Mendoza in his epic poem, *Arauco Domado*.²

Don García died in 1609, shortly after his son's marriage to Doña María de Cárdenas, and Don Juan Andrés succeeded to the title of Marqués de Cañete. He was not yet satisfied with the vindication of his father by Pedro de Oña, and selected Suárez de Figueroa, (who had celebrated his marriage in *La Constante Amarilis*), to write his father's biography. This work, entitled, *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*, is mainly devoted to the recital of the exploits of Don García as Governor of Chile in 1556, and as Viceroy of Peru from 1588 to 1596. When we remember that Figueroa was entirely dependant upon his literary work for his livelihood, we need not be surprised that the book abounds in praise of the family of Cañete, though it surely does not deserve the severe criticism of Señor Antonio del Rio who called it "a collection of exaggerated flatteries."³

¹ See Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, Vol. IV, p. xvi ff.

² First published at Lima, 1596.

³ *La Araucana, de Don Alonso de Ercilla*. Edition of the Spanish Academy, Madrid, 1866, Vol. II, p. 423.

Figueroa's work is an important document for the study of the early history of Chile and Peru.¹ In its composition, he made use of the *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Australes hecho por el general Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*.² A part of Figueroa's work, from page 228 to 291, was reprinted by Thevenot in the fourth volume of his *Collection de Voyages* with the title, *Dos Viajes del Adelantado Alvaro de Mendaña*, and it was this account which led La Pérouse to make his voyage to determine the exact location of the Solomon Islands.³

The first edition of this biography, published at Madrid in 1613, was dedicated to the Duke of Lerma, but the second edition, identical with the first, which appeared at Madrid in 1616, was dedicated to Figueroa's old patron, D. Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza.⁴ He tells us in *El Passagero*⁵ that he had dedicated one of his books to the greatest Duke and favourite that monarchies had ever seen, but that he had hesitated to demand any recompense for his tribute. It is likely that he was disappointed at Lerma's lack of appreciation, and for this reason changed the dedication in the second edition.

Judging from the appearance of a second edition within three years, the book must have enjoyed some success, but

¹ This book has been reprinted in the *Coleccion de historiadores de Chile*, Vol. V. Santiago de Chile, 1865.

² This fact was mentioned by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, Vol. III, p. CXCIIL.

³ Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. II, p. 631.

Lope de Vega used this work of Figueroa in writing his comedia, *Arauco domado*. See Señor Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction to this play in Vol. XII of the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

⁴ I find no notice of this second edition in Salvá nor in other bibliographies. There is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.

⁵ Fol. 281.

Figueroa was at odds with most of the literary men of the period, and his works received little notice. However, the dramatist Luis Belmonte Bermúdez in his epic poem, *La Hispalica*, after mentioning Pedro de Oña and others who had written of South America, speaks in praise of Figueroa as follows:

"El Dr. Figueroa, aunque hijo de Espana, tiene hoy con justa razon por patria aquella nobilissima ciudad, (Lima) que le honra como á natural suyo; es tambien uno de los que pueden entrar á la parte en el laurel de Apolo, con igualdad de pocos."¹

In the Prologue to the biography of the Marqués de Cañete, Caravajal de Ulloa speaks as follows of the sixth work written by Figueroa before 1612. "He translated from Portuguese at the request of the Fathers of the Jesuit Society, the account of what that Order has accomplished during the past years. This book is about to be published." However, its publication was delayed, for it did not appear until 1614. The full title reads, *Historia y Anal Relacion de las cosas que hizieron los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus, por las partes de Oriente y otras, en la propagacion del Santo Euangelio, los años passados de 607 y 608. Sacada, limada, y compuesta de Portugues en Castellano por el Doctor Christóval Suárez de Figueroa.* En Madrid, MDCXIII. En la Imprenta Real.

This book is a close translation of a Portuguese work of Padre Fernão Guerreiro, which appeared at Lisbon in 1611, with the following title: *Relacam annal das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus, nas partes da India Oriental, et em algûas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 607 et 608 et do processo da conuersão et*

¹ Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. II, col. 65.

*Christiandade daquellas partes, com mais huã addiçam á relaçam de Ethiopia. Tirado tudo das cartas dos mesmos Padres que de lá vierão, et ordenado pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Iesu, natural de Almodouar de Portugal. Em Lisboa, Impresso por Pedro Craşbeeck, Anno MDCXI.*¹

In the Prologue to the Reader, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, the learned biographer of Philip II, pays the author a high tribute, saying that the Jesuit Society had selected the scholarly pen of Doctor Christóval de Figueroa to describe what its famous men had accomplished in the conversion of the Indies, "a fortunate and prudent choice, for his volumes of poetry and history already published prove that to his hands alone should be entrusted the immortality of such heroic deeds."

The work is divided into five parts, and relates the missionary operations of the Jesuits in Japan, China, the provinces of Goa and Cochin, and in Ethiopia.² It is not a

¹ In speaking of this translation, Nicolas Antonio does not mention the author of the original work, but in the *Bibliotheca Nova*, Vol. I, p. 109, he speaks of two Spanish translations of Guerreiro by Antonio Collazo, with the titles: *Relacion de lo sucedido á los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus en la India Oriental, y Japon en los años de MDC y MDCI* and *Relacion de lo sucedido en los años MDCVII y MDCVIII*. This last is probably a translation of the same work which Figueroa translated, but I have not been able to compare the two versions.

² Señor Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, Vol. II, p. 300, says that Figueroa translated the first four books of the *Historia y Anal Relacion*, and was the author of the fifth book, which deals with Ethiopia. He believes this from the fact that the fifth book contains certain statements which differ from those given by Luis de Urreta in his *Historia eclesiastica, politica, natural, y moral, de los grandes y remotos Reynos de la Etiopia*, which was published in Valencia in 1610. However, the part of Figueroa's book which treats of Ethiopia is found in the original Portuguese work of Guerreiro, which was published in 1611.

book which is likely to find many readers to-day, but the account of the early Christian missions in Japan is not without interest.

Figueroa continued his hack-work by translating an Italian book which had enjoyed great success both at home and abroad, namely, *La Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*, of Tomaso Garzoni.¹ Although this translation was completed in 1612, its publication was delayed, and it appeared in 1615 with the title: *Plaza Universal de todas ciencias y artes, parte traducida de Toscano, y parte compuesta, por el Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa*.

Figueroa's work is, in general, a close translation of the Italian original, but he omitted many paragraphs which had only special interest for Italian readers, and he added what he thought might be of interest in the Spanish version. The book is a sort of encyclopaedia of nearly all branches of human knowledge as known at that time, and treats of all the arts and professions from poets and philosophers, to tailors, shoemakers and beggars. He says in the Prologue, that his purpose in translating the book was to popularize the arts and sciences, and to bring them within the reach of everyone.

The *Plaza Universal* is best known to students of Spanish literature in connection with the history of the stage. The list of actors and actresses which he gives, is an important document for the history of the *comediantes*. Already in 1612, Figueroa was bitterly opposed to the Span-

¹ Tomaso Garzoni was born in 1549, cultivated philosophy, history and theology, and died in 1589. Besides the *Piazza Universale*, he wrote many other books, such as *Il teatro de varj cervelli mondani*, *Lo spedale de' pazzi incurabili*, *La sinagoga degli ignoranti*, *Il serraglio degli stupori del mondo*, etc.

ish national theatre, and in this work he strongly censured the immorality of the stage.¹

The *Plaza Universal* was republished at Perpignan in 1630,² and again at Madrid in 1733. The latter is an immense book in folio, containing many additions to the original work.

When the *Plaza Universal* appeared in 1615, Figueroa was living at Madrid, and perhaps held some position at Court. Barrera³ mentions an account of the marriage in 1615, of the young prince Philip, afterwards Philip IV, with Isabel de Borbon, written by Doctor Christóval Suárez de Figueroa, with the title: *Relacion de la honrosisima jornada que la Magestad del Rey don Felipe, nuestro Señor, ha hecho ahora con nuestro Príncipe y la Reyna de Francia, sus hijos, para efectuar sus Reales bodas: y de la grandeza, pompa y aparato de los Príncipes y Señores de la Corte, que iban acompañando á sus Magestades. Es relacion la más cierta que ha salido de la Corte. Ordenada por el Doctor Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa, residente en ella. Este año de 1615.* Gallardo⁴ mentions the same account, but gives the author's name as Doctor Christóval de Figueroa. Figueroa does not include this in any of the lists of his works, but there is scarcely a doubt as to his authorship of it.

¹ *Discurso XCI.* Señor Cotarelo y Mori has reprinted the most important part of this discussion of the Spanish stage in his *Bibliografía de las Controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, 1904, pp. 557-558.

² *Plaza Universal de todas ciencias y artes, parte traduzida de Toscano, y parte compuesta por el Doctor Christóval Suarez de Figueroa. A Hieronymo Perarnau Cauallero Catalan, Señor del Castillo y Lugar de la Roca de Albera, en el condado de Rossellon, año 1630.* En la fidelissima Villa de Perpiñan, por Luys Roure, Librero.

³ *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 231.

⁴ *Ensayo de una biblioteca*, Vol. II, col. 1070.

In the early part of the seventeenth century, literary contests, on both sacred and profane subjects, were held in great favour by the poets. Figueroa did not share this taste with the other literary men of his time, and censured the practice in *El Passagero*, citing a festival held in honour of St. Anthony of Padua, in which five thousand verses competed for the prizes. However, Figueroa took part in one of these contests held at Toledo in 1616, in honour of the completion of the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Sagrario.¹ In this *Certamen*, such well-known poets as Antonio de Mendoza, Luis de Góngora, Juan de Jáuregui and Christóval de Mesa competed.

¹ For an account of the festival, see article by M. Leo Rouanet, *Un auto inédit de Valdivielso*, published in *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. I, p. 57. Also see, Pedro de Herrera, *Descripción de la Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*. Madrid, 1617.

CHAPTER V.

EL PASSAGERO; OPPOSITION TO THE NATIONAL THEATRE; RELATIONS WITH ALARCON AND CERVANTES.

In November, 1617, *El Passagero*,¹ one of Figueroa's most important works was published at Madrid. In this book, the author appears to us as a man embittered by continued failure, for in spite of his arduous literary labours, his books had met with much adverse criticism. He had acquired the reputation of a severe critic at Madrid, and since he did not hesitate to give his honest judgment when persons came to consult him about their works, he made in this way many enemies.

In *El Passagero*, he gave vent to his long years of disappointment, to his contempt for the corrupt manners of his time, and to the ill-will which he had nursed for years against some of his contemporaries. In the Dedication to the Republic of Lucca, he calls this book the child of his heart (*hijo de mi inclinacion*). There are few books in Spanish literature so subjective as *El Passagero*, and perhaps no Spanish writer has left so faithful a record of his disposition and tastes. It not only affords us an opportunity to study the life and character of the author, but enables us to see with the eyes of a contemporary, the life and manners of Spain in the early seventeenth century.

¹ *El Passagero. Advertencias utilissimas a la vida humana. Por el Doctor Suárez de Figueroa.* En Madrid, por Luys Sanchez, año, 1617. 8°. A second edition was published at Barcelona in 1618.

In its general plan, *El Passagero* bears some resemblance to the *Viaje Entretenido* of Rojas. Four travellers leave Madrid for Barcelona, en route to Italy. Various professions are represented in the party, one is a professor of theology, Don Luis dabbles in verse, the third is a goldsmith, and the fourth member is the Doctor, Figueroa himself, who disappointed at his lack of success in his own country, is turning his back upon Spain forever. Owing to the intense heat, the travellers agree to break the monotony of the journey by the discussion of various subjects, and thus in the use of dialogue, Figueroa is afforded a good vehicle for the expression of his own ideas.

El Passagero may be studied from many points of view, but since it is best known for its discussion of the national theatre, it seems proper to speak first of this portion of the work. At no time in Spain did a theatre based on classical models gain a strong foothold, as it did in France and even in England. The attempts of Jerónimo Bermúdez and Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola to write plays according to classical rules resulted in complete failure. The theatre-loving Spaniards demanded plays which could be acted, and cared little for the unities and other traditions of the classical theatre, provided they were furnished three hours of entertainment. They keenly enjoyed seeing the *gracioso* make fun of the frailties of his master, quite oblivious of the fact that this violated one of the laws laid down by Horace.

However, although the people were well satisfied, many scholars and men of letters, who held fast to the classical precepts, and saw the defects of the new comedia, vigorously protested against this invasion of a hybrid form, which violated all the rules of art. Cervantes, Micer Andres Rey de Artieda, Christóval de Mesa, Villegas and

Francisco Cascales took the lead in this attempt to impose the classical rules upon the new *comedia*.

We have seen that Figueroa condemned the immorality of the stage in the *Plaza Universal*, but in *El Passagero* his attack was rather directed against the new elements introduced into the *comedia* by Lope de Vega.¹ He does not mention Lope by name, but he clearly blames him for the inconsistencies and incongruities of the new type of play.² "If Plautus and Terence were living to-day," he says, "they would be the laughing-stock of the people, for a certain one has introduced a kind of farce, more profitable than elegant. An affair of twenty-four hours or at most, of three days, used to form the argument of a comedy. The townspeople were the characters, and Kings and Princes were never brought upon the stage, and thus the jests, ill befitting their dignity, were avoided, but now the *comedia* is a hodge-podge, in which there is a little of everything.

"Since they require so little study, there are many who write a great number of comedias, and even the most timid always have courage to write more. Then like puppies, they snarl with envy, and bite for vengeance. All is chatter, all is chaff, without science or learning." He then makes a thrust at the large number of plays written by Lope, bidding the dramatists pay more attention to the quality of their work than to the quantity, for it is upon the first of these that the judgment of a wise man is based. The writing of comedias is so easy that even a certain tailor of Toledo, who could neither read nor write, had com-

¹ Schack discusses the opposition to the national theatre in his *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Vol. III, Chap. XXIII. Also Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, 1896, Vol. III, pp. 404-424.

² Schack, Vol. III, p. 343 ff.

posed some *comedias de cuerpo* which lasted fifteen or twenty days.¹

Figueroa insisted upon the old distinction between comedy and tragedy. "Those who compose the *fabula comica* are plebeians, or at most, townspeople and soldiers, so of necessity, the language must be familiar, therefore it is a mistake to bring into the *comedia* the deeds of illustrious persons, for laughter can only be excited by men of low estate." His proof of this doctrine is ingenious, "If a prince is ridiculed, he immediately becomes offended, the offense demands vengeance, vengeance leads to disasters, but these last lie only within the domain of tragedy."²

El Passagero contains the most severe criticism of the national theatre that appeared in the early seventeenth century. The arguments are developed with logic and force, but they were not powerful enough to stem the tide of popular fancy. The people paid no attention to the critics and their classical rules. Lope de Vega, Tirso and Luis Vélez de Guevara were the popular idols, and two o'clock in the afternoon found the theatres of La Cruz and El Príncipe filled, from the mosqueteros in the pit to the Señores in their boxes, all equally eager for the "follies" of their beloved *comedia*.

The early part of the seventeenth century in Spain wit-

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 75b.

Figueroa spoke in like terms of this tailor of Toledo in the *Plaza Universal*; see Schack, Vol. III, p. 342. Villegas mentions him in his 7th Elegia, and Quevedo inserts a few of his verses in the *Perinola*. He is the subject of some satiric verses, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, MS. 3985, fol. 58-63, which begin:

Yo Juan Martinez, oficial de Olmedo,
Por la gracia de Dios poeta sastre.

He is advised to return to his old trade, and to abandon his theological dissertations, for his life was a disgrace to the needle.

² *El Passagero*, fol. 77b.

nessed some bitter disputes among the literary men at Madrid, and none was more cruelly waged than that against the splendid dramatist, Juan Ruiz de Alarcon.¹ For some reason the latter had incurred the ill-will of his fellow poets, and the greatest writers of Spain did not hesitate to ridicule in verse his physical deformity. Figueroa shared this dislike for Alarcon, and in *El Passagero*, made fun of his aristocratic airs and pretensions to nobility.

This enmity between Alarcon and Figueroa may have commenced as early as 1613, for Señor Fernández-Guerra y Orbe believed that Alarcon referred to Figueroa's slandering tongue and to his failure to secure office in *La Cueva de Salamanca*, which appeared in that year.²

Figueroa had then an old score to settle, and his attack upon the dramatist in *El Passagero* was bitter and cruel. In this book, he condemned those middle-class persons who aspire to social position and assume aristocratic airs, and sneers at Alarcon for having signed his name with the title of Don,³ and because he prided himself on his surname Mendoza. Speaking of the usual method of obtaining no-

¹ For the account of Figueroa's relations with Alarcon, I am greatly indebted to Señor D. Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe's admirable work, *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza*. Madrid, 1871.

² In Act II, Scene II, of this play, Zamudio, speaking of a certain *maldiciente* at Madrid, says:

Pues esto ¿ es mucho? Un letrado
Hay en ella, tan notado
Por tratante en decir mal,
Que en lugar de los recelos
Que dan las murmuraciones,
Sirven ya de informaciones
En abono sus libelos;
Y su enemiga fortuna
Tanto su mal solicita,
Que por más honras que quita,
Jamás le queda ninguna.

³ In the décima accompanying his comedia, *Desengaño de Fortuna*.

bility, he says, "González does not sound well, (alluding to the surname Ruiz), for although an old Christian name, it occurs too frequently. However, it would be easy in this case to adopt the ancient name of Toledo, Manrique or *Mendoza*, since even sons of nobodies, hump-backs and deformed persons know how to commit such frauds. . . . I knew one whose father, a respectable silversmith, (Alarcon's father was employed in the silver-mines of Tasco) was gaining a modest fortune, when the demon which they call Nobility, attacked his son. A gentle sounding, though common name (Juan) suited him perfectly, but one night he was seized by the first symptoms of this madness, and he awoke the next morning a Don. In the meantime, his father died, whose life and trade had somewhat checked his son's aristocratic aspirations, and thereupon, the eldest son (Alarcon was the eldest of his brothers) threw off his mask completely, and if he did not always act as a gentleman, at least he had the dress and fine clothes of a spruce young dandy." ¹

He also cruelly alludes in *El Passagero* ² to Alarcon's deformity, "It is important to exclude from public offices inferior persons, miserable under-sized men, for although the mouse is very clever, yet it dies at the first scratch of the cat. If a youth, well built and strong, must be refused what he desires, . . . it is far more just that a monkey with a man's face, an impudent *hump-back*, a ridiculous cripple, should be rejected, who abandoned by the hand of God, seeks some public office." A more cruel attack upon the great dramatist could hardly be imagined, and although

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 36b-37. This passage was quoted by Señor Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, pp. 252-253.

² *El Passagero*, fol. 207b.

D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon, *ibid.*

Alarcon may have had certain weaknesses, Figueroa can in no way be excused for his ridicule of his enemy's personal deformities. It is not surprising that Alarcon did not allow this attack to pass unnoticed, and set to work to prepare his vindication.

When *El Passagero* appeared in 1617, Alarcon was working on three comedias for the company of Vallejo, *La Prueba de las Promesas*, *Mudarse por Mejorarse*, and *Las Paredes Oyen*. This last, which condemns the vice of speaking ill of others, was especially well fitted as a reply, not only to Figueroa, but to the other poets who had slandered him. He put aside the first two plays for a time, and finished *Las Paredes Oyen* as quickly as possible.

We can not fail to admire his temperate answer to his critics, for not once did he descend to brutal personalities, as they had done. He merely tried to show the folly of speaking ill of others, for the slanderer not only makes many enemies, but is not even trusted by his friends, and he cites the example of one who had become very unpopular because of this vice:

En la corte hay un señor
Que muchas veces oí.
.....
Que está malquisto de modo
Por vicioso en murmurar,
Que si lo vieran quemar
Diera leña el pueblo todo.¹

When we remember that this play was written shortly after the publication of *El Passagero*, it is not too much to infer that this critic, who was so unpopular that the whole town would help to burn him, was Figueroa himself.

Alarcon's next play, *La Prueba de las Promesas*, in

¹ Act III, Scene V.

which the character of Don Juan is Alarcon himself, also forms part of his reply to his enemies. In the second jornada, he justifies his efforts to rise in the world, and asserts his right to the title of Don, a claim which his biographer has proved well founded, and adds that a man's noble blood is shown by his actions, and is not based on the mere accident of birth.

At the beginning of the third jornada, Alarcon speaks of a certain bald-headed critic, and here again he seems to allude to Figueroa. Tristan is reading certain formulae for the study of necromancy, among them, one to check the hisses of the *mosqueteros*, which he recommends to the poets, and continues:

Carácter que puede hacer
Que un calvo no lo parezca.
Bien habrá quien me agradezca
Que le enseñe el carácter.
¿Que la magia da cabello?
Por dios, que he de denunciar
De cierto Momo, y vengar
Mil ofendidos con ello,
Puesto que la villa entera
Vió que calvo anoheció,
Y á la mañana sacó
Abrigada la mollera.¹

It is clear that these lines were directed against a well known character who had offended not only Alarcon, but "a thousand others." In the *Expostulatio Spongiae*, written by Francisco López de Aguilar in 1618, we learn that at that time Figueroa was bald.² Alarcon says that the whole city knew that this man had gone to bed bald, and the next morning wore a wig. This is a direct take-off

¹ *La Prueba de las Promesas*, Act III, Scene II.

² Barrera, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 307.

on Figueroa's statement in *El Passagero*, that the son of the silversmith (Alarcon) had gone to bed without a title, and awoke the next morning a Don. It seems quite probable that Alarcon wished to raise a laugh at his enemy's expense, feeling sure that the crowd would understand the allusion.

At the close of the third act of *La Prueba de las Promesas*, there is another possible allusion to Figueroa. Three office-seekers present themselves before Tristan, Don Juan's secretary, and ask for employment. The first two are successful, but the petition of the third is refused, because he can only present as a claim, that he has written a book *en romance*, (i. e. Spanish) and had translated one from Italian.¹ Figueroa was evidently well known as a translator of Italian books and in the play his application for office, based on these grounds, was refused.

The third comedia of Alarcon which was partly written when *El Passagero* appeared was the splendid *Mudarse por Mejorar*, also published with the titles, *Dejar dicha por más dicha* and *Por Mejoría mi casa dejaría*. The dramatist still nursed his resentment against Figueroa, and introduced a servant named Figueroa into the play, who com-

¹ *Pretendiente 2º.* Para que una plaza alcance
ó el uno destes oficios
me dad favor.

Tristan. ¿ Que servicios?

Pretendiente 2º. He escrito un libro en romance.

Tristan. ¿ Qué?

Pretendiente 2º. En romance.

Tristan. Bien está.

Pretendiente 2º. Y también fui traductor
De uno italiano, señor.

Tristan. Señor, no negociará.

Figueroa was spoken of as a translator of Italian books in the *Expostulatio Spongiae*.

plains that he is not allowed to enjoy in peace his honourable name. Here Alarcon calls into question Figueroa's pretensions to belong to the family of Feria, just as Figueroa had questioned the dramatist's right to the surname of Mendoza.¹

In the second scene of the last act Alarcon refers openly to Figueroa, saying that he wastes the paper on which he writes his books. Mencía tells her mistress, Leonor, that her best course will be to marry the Marqués, for the latter's servant, Figueroa, has set his heart on the match, and Leonor replies :

Mencía. Si Figueroa porfia
que lleva puesta la proa
en eso — —

Leonor. ¿ De Figueroa
Haces tú caso, Mencía?

Mencía. Hace libros.

Leonor. El papel
Echa á mal.

Mencía. Pues por mil modos
Dice en ellos mal de todos.

Leonor. Y todos dellos y dél.

Here at last Alarcon got full satisfaction. He had alluded to his enemy many times in an indirect way, but in this play, the slandering Figueroa is brought upon the boards as a lackey, and we are told that just as he spoke ill of all men, so everyone spoke ill of him and of his works. This play must have been at least half finished when *El Passajero* appeared, for in the early part of the play, Figueroa is simply a squire who discreetly answers questions, and retires. After reading Figueroa's attack, Alarcon gave to the squire the name of his enemy, and found in him an effective weapon for ridicule.

¹ See p. 11.

Figueroa has been harshly treated by historians of Spanish literature because of his attack in *El Passagero* upon Cervantes, who had died the previous year. It will be remembered that the latter had spoken in praise of the *Pastor Fido* and of *La Constante Amarilis*, and Figuerola ill repaid this kindness by his bitter and unjust criticism of some of Cervantes' later works.

It is quite possible that Figuerola bore a grudge against Cervantes for having won the favour of the Count of Lemos, when he himself had failed. He tells in *El Passagero*¹ that he had dedicated one of his books to Lemos, and had gone to Barcelona to present the work to him, but was unable to obtain an audience, and was obliged to return to Madrid without even having seen him. He must have changed the dedication, for no book of Figuerola which we possess is dedicated to the Count of Lemos, and no doubt he was envious of the favours which Cervantes had received at the hands of this nobleman.

Figueroa's first reference to Cervantes occurs in the *Plaza Universal*. In the *Discurso de los Alcahuetes*, he tells how bawds seduce women by relating love-stories to them, and mentions some of the books which were used for this purpose: "No calla la fábula de Olimpia, la de Genebra, la de Isabela: halla las novelas de Bocacio, de Cintio ó *Cervantes*, recita las locuras de Roldan, los amores de Reynaldo, los desdenes de Angélica, la afición de Rugero y Bradamante, combatiendo con estos dislates lascivos la virtud de las mugeres casadas, la castidad de las donzellas, y la preciosa honestidad de las viudas, que bien amenudo vienen á quedar violadas con tales razonamientos."² It is needless to say that the novels of Cervantes in no way deserve this charge of immorality, and his criticism is still

¹ Fol. 282.

² Ed. 1615, fol. 276b.

more to be condemned when we remember that the *Viaje del Parnaso* had appeared the previous year, in which *La Constante Amarilis* had been mentioned in complimentary terms.

In *El Passagero*,¹ Cervantes is ridiculed for having related some of his own adventures in his novelas. Don Luis says that he had thought of writing a short story, and the Doctor asks whether he had ever suffered shipwreck, as that would furnish him with a good argument, and continues, "There is a certain one who has related his own adventures, giving marvellous splendour to his scanty ability, and unheard of praise to his supposed wisdom, for as he had the cloth, he could easily apply the scissors where he liked." The Master asks, "What fruit did he gain by such mad folly?" and the Doctor replies, "The reward which falls to everything which is not produced in the crucible of prudence, that is, laughter and scorn." As Navarrete² pointed out, Figueroa here refers to the novelas, *El Amante liberal*, and *El Capitan cautivo*, in which Cervantes related some of the incidents of his captivity in Algiers.

The fact that Cervantes had died only a short time before seemed in no way to check the jealousy and enmity of Figueroa. He spoke disdainfully of some of the writers of his time who wearied everyone with their impertinences, and added that "this weakness continues in some as long as they live, as in the case of those who write prologues and dedications at the point of death."³ Here Figueroa ridicules Cervantes' dedication of *Los Trabajos de Pérsiles y Sigismunda* to the Count of Lemos, on April 19, 1616, only four days before his death.

¹ Fol. 56b.

² *Vida de Cervantes*, 1819, p. 136.

³ *El Passagero*, fol. 74.

In speaking of the comedias in *El Passagero*, Figueroa did not let the opportunity pass to speak scornfully of the eight comedias of Cervantes which were published in 1615. Alluding to the difficulties which poets have in getting their plays represented, he says, "Duran estas irresoluciones tanto, que muchos por falta de valedor, no hazen sino componer, y echar comedias al suelo del arca, con el ansia que suele el avaro recoger y acumular doblones. Por esta causa se hallan infinitos con muchas gruessas represadas, esperando se representarán quando menos en el teatro de Josafat, donde por ningun caso les faltarán oyentes."¹

In this passage, Figueroa borrowed the phraseology which Cervantes had used in the prologue to his eight comedias, where he complains that he could not get his comedias represented: "Algunos años ha que volví yo á mi antigua ociosidad, y pensando que aún duraban los siglos donde corrían mis alabanzas, volví á componer algunas comedias, pero no hallé pájaros en los nidos de antaño; quiero decir, que no hallé autor que me las pidiese, puesto que sabían que las tenía; y así las arrinconé en un cofre, y las consagré y condené á perpetuo silencio." Figueroa seems to ridicule Cervantes' lack of success in having his plays produced, and says that at least he will have an audience at the last judgment, in the Valley of Jehosaphat.

Figueroa condemns in *El Passagero*² the prevalent malady of writing verses, and says that while there is some excuse for a young man who writes poetry, "ciertos niños de á setenta, con hábito largo, supeditados de muger, vencidos de ancianidad, dados toda la vida á coplear; y lo

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 82b.

This passage is quoted by Schack in *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Vol. III, p. 359.

² Fol. 85.

que es peor, á coplear perversamente, no puede aver sufrimiento que detenga su justa reprehension." It is likely that here Figueroa again refers to Cervantes, who was nearly sixty-nine years old when he died, and who had composed his *Viaje del Parnaso* in 1614, and had published his eight comedias and eight entremeses in 1615, the year before his death.

CHAPTER VI.

FIGUEROA'S ATTEMPTS AT REFORM—HIS POETRY AND POETIC THEORIES—THE NOVELA—THE EXPOSTU- LATIO SPONGIAE—THE VARIAS NOTICIAS.

It is true that Figueroa's bitter attack upon Alarcon and Cervantes can in no way be justified, but he appears in a far more creditable light, when we consider his attempts to reform the manners and vices of his time in *El Passagero*. We are told in the Prologue that his purpose in writing the book was to reform the corrupt condition of Spain, and surely the warning came none too soon. The iron grip of Philip II had kept Spain a united nation, and his tireless energy had at least delayed his country's decline from the proud position she held in Europe, but with the accession of Philip III in 1598 the kingdom underwent a radical change.

The country was on the verge of ruin, the Treasury was empty, and only with the greatest difficulty could the King collect enough money for the expenses of his marriage in 1598. The King and the Duke of Lerma set the pace for unheard-of extravagance, and officers went from door to door, collecting money to pay the piper at Court, while excessive taxation had brought the people to a state of poverty.¹ Public business was set aside for the jousts, cane-tourneys and bull fights. Lerma's abuse of power did not fail to arouse indignation, and many satires against him

¹ Hume, *Spain* (1479-1788), Chap. VI.

and Rodrigo Calderon appeared. The warning in *El Passagero* was timely, for Lerma was still the favourite, although he fell from grace the following year.

Figueroa showed no mercy for Philip's ministers and attributed to them the disasters which had befallen Spain: "The ministers are the cause of all the trouble. It is a disgrace that not only like useless drones, they suck the honey from the hive, the sweat of the poor people, and enjoy so much wealth unjustly, but they even have the impudence to increase their wealth without deserving it. These are the abomination of states, and although they die amid the greatest pomp, their names are remembered as a curse."¹ Lerma's arm was long to punish those who offended him, and it required courage to thus boldly accuse him and his party of having caused the ruin of his country.

Not only did Figuerola protest against the corrupt administration, but severely censured the lax morals and idle life of the men and women at Court. The young noblemen who thought only of their own pleasure, while the rest of the country was starving, especially excited his indignation. He told how nobility consisted in always being well dressed, in taking an active part in the cane tourneys, and in occupying a conspicuous seat at the comedias, rather than in the performance of praise-worthy actions.

Figueroa was not the sort of man to be carried away by the current of popular opinion, and when he saw the defects in the administration and the vices of Court life, he did not hesitate to make a strong effort to remedy these evils. However his protests were unheeded, and only resulted in bringing upon him the enmity of those whom he had criticized. The Duke of Lerma was deposed in 1618,

¹ *El Passagero*, fol. 190b-191.

only to be replaced by the unscrupulous Count Duke of Olivares. The glory of Spain was fast waning, destined to be checked momentarily by Charles III, and then to suffer an almost total eclipse at the end of the eighteenth century.

Besides the prose discussions, *El Passagero* contains a large number of verses, with which the travellers broke the monotony of their journey to Barcelona. Figueroa did not consider poetry his special calling, and believed that the writing of verse is often harmful, for it robs the poet of many hours which might be spent more profitably, but in spite of this opinion, he wrote a very considerable quantity of verse, even toward the end of his life. In *El Passagero*,¹ he promised to write a book on Spanish poetics, but unfortunately he did not carry out his plan, which no doubt would have furnished interesting information concerning the poets of the *siglo de oro*.

His verse, while correct and carefully polished, is cold and artificial, and rarely do we find the true note of poetry. His love poems lack feeling and passion, and we feel that he merely considered them literary exercises, for lyric inspiration is rarely present. He is at his best in descriptions of Nature, which are often marked by a delicacy of touch, and a keen appreciation of beauty. Long years of disappointment and failure had embittered him, and much of his later verse is tinged with melancholy.

Of the contemporary poets he admired only Garcilaso, Camoens and Góngora.² In *El Passagero*,³ the Doctor

¹ Fol. 53b.

² In *Pusilipo*, Junta VI, he pays a high tribute to Gongora: "Aquel Fénix de las agudezas, el solo poeta español, el moderno Marcial, más que él, agudo en las burlas, y en las veras, otro Papinio Estacio." He speaks of the romances, *Piramo y Tisbe* and *Leandro y Ero*, as the most delightful he had ever read.

³ Fol. 62.

advises Don Luis not to publish his verses with the title, *Rimas Sueltas*, for some had appeared with that title which deserved to be burned, and only those of Garcilaso and Camoens were worthy of praise. Don Luis suggests the title *Flores de la edad* for his verses, but the Doctor objects because "many flowers bear no fruit,"¹ alluding to the collection of Pedro de Espinosa, entitled *Flores de poetas ilustres*, which was published at Valladolid in 1605. Here was a sweeping condemnation of the greatest poets of his time, and we need not be surprised that his works received scant praise from his contemporaries.

Besides the verses, Figueroa included in *El Passagero* a first-class picaresque novela,² which is one of his most interesting compositions. In the course of his travels in Italy, he meets an inn-keeper named Juan, who had served in the army in Piedmont, and who relates to him his adventures after leaving Italy. These adventures are of the rogue type, familiar to us in *Lazarillo* and *Guzman de Alfarache*. One of the most interesting is his attempt to rob a grave, a story which Figueroa had probably read in the *Decameron*. The novela is well written and full of interest, and we can only regret that he did not attempt more work of this kind.

It will be remembered that in *El Passagero*, Figueroa condemned the new style of comedia introduced into Spain by Lope de Vega. The same year, a book written in Latin by Torres Rámila appeared with the title of *Spongia*, which censured many works of Lope, especially the *Angélica*, the *Dragontea*, *Jerusalén Conquistada*, and the comedias. We only know its contents from the quotations from it included in the *Expostulatio Spongiae* by Francisco de Aguilar, for not a single copy of the original book is known

¹ Fol. 63.

² Alivio VII.

to exist.¹ We have no evidence that Figueroa took any part in this attack upon Lope de Vega, but he was probably in sympathy with it, for he was among those ridiculed by Francisco de Aguilar in his defence of Lope.

Francisco de Aguilar undertook to reply to the charges of Rámila in the *Expostulatio Spongiae*, which was published in June, 1618. This is followed on fol. 43 by the *Oneiropaegnion sive Jocus*, a comic dream, written in Latin prose with rare grace and wit. The author pretends that he is carried through the air to the steps of San Felipe el Real in Madrid, and from there saw a crowd of people entering a book-shop across the street.² On entering, he found himself in a crowd of silent doctors, and he inquired of one of them, a bald-headed man with a swollen face, the reason for the silence. According to a manuscript note on the margin of a copy formerly possessed by Barrera, this bald-headed man was Suárez de Figueroa. The latter, stroking his beard, replied that this meeting resembled those of the ancient philosophers, who laid the foundations of learning in silence, not in empty words.³ This is just the reply we should have expected from Figueroa, who constantly praised the virtues of the Greeks

¹ Barrera, *Nueva biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 300.

² This spot was well known as a meeting place for the critics. Figueroa himself mentions it in the *Plaza Universal* (1615), fol. 300, in condemning those who seek to acquire the reputation of learning by criticising others: "Testigo desta verdad pudiera ser particularmente en Madrid, cierto puesto enfrente de San Felipe, donde en varios concursos, y juntas, solo se trata de supeditar el más ignorante, al mas científico, excluyendo la embidia deuidas estimaciones y alabanzas." The convent of San Felipe el Real was situated on Calle Mayor, directly opposite the house of the Count of Oñate. See an article on *Las Gradas de San Felipe in Madrid Viejo* of Ricardo Sepúlveda, pp. 1-17.

³ Barrera, *Nueva biografía*, p. 307. This volume is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and bears the press mark ¹47341.

and Romans, as contrasted with the faults of his contemporaries.

He openly confesses his mania for criticizing the works of others, and says that because of this, he had received the name Satyrion: "Ita notum est(iniquit) per omnes Hispaniæ et Italiæ partes Satyrionis nomen, . . Primum quidem Aresius (that is, Suarez) ab omnibus simpliciter vocabar, cum illud nomen mecum adolevisset, sed labentibus sensim rebus, ut ad scribendas satyras animum inclinavi, et plerisque Principibus, magnorum capitum detrimento risum satyrice conciliavi: ita promptissimis unius cuiusque suffragiis ad Satyrionis nomen evectus sum. Vix fidem adhibeas medius fidius, si dicam in hoc nomen ita factorum ordinem conspirasse, ut integro vitæ meæ curriculo in nulum aliud studiorum genus incubuerim, quam vel in privatorum mores, vel in codices traducendos."¹

He then speaks of his translations from Italian: "Ex quo, si non mihi Satyrionis, traductoris certe, quod idem esse existimo nomen remansisset. Nam Italia, cuius tantam librorum farraginem, Hispana dictione donavi, mihi saltem in tanti laboris præmium hunc titulum indulsisset si statuis, et monumentis indignum laboris mei beneficium reputasset."

Satyrion then speaks of some of his literary quarrels: "Verum ut non sunt omnes ad modestiam nati, et læsa tandem patientia surgit indignatio non omnibus affectus hic satyricus placuit, sed non pauci reperti sunt, qui in scripta mea diligentius inquirentes, non tantum me precibus denouerunt, sed alios etiam ne per somnium quidem violatos arte pessima in odium meum concitarunt."

Lope was fully vindicated in the *Expostulatio Spongiæ*, but he never forgave Rámila for his attack, and referred

¹ *Expostulatio Spongiæ*, fol. 49b.

to him as "el famoso perro" in his epistle to Rioja, entitled, *El Jardin de Lope*, and pictures him as "el Tordo" in the second part of the *Filomena*, published in 1621.

We have no details of Figueroa's life between 1617 when *El Passagero* appeared, and 1621 when his *Varias Noticias*¹ was published at Madrid. He tells us in the Prologue to this work that his books had been well received, and that by virtue of them, he had been able to live so many years at Madrid, and that he would be obliged to continue his literary work until the King should give him some employment. We might infer from this that Figueroa had not regained the King's favour in 1620, however, he must have been employed in the Government service for eleven years between 1606 and 1624, for in his petition to the King in 1606, he said that he had served in various posts for sixteen years, and in a letter, dated August, 1624, he said that he had served his King and country in various capacities for twenty-seven years.² In the Prologue, he attempts to refute the charge that his books lacked originality.³

As Figueroa advanced in years, his books became more didactic in tone, and although there is a tendency to preach

¹ *Varias noticias importantes á la humana comunicacion. Al Excelentissimo Señor Don Alvaro de Alencastro, Duque de Auero, etc. Por el Dotor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa, Fiscal, Iuez, Governador, Comissario contra vandoleros, y Auditor de gente de guerra que fué por su Magestad.* En Madrid. Por Tomas Iunti. Impressor del Rey, nuestro señor. Año de MDCXXI.

² Published in Modern Language Notes, Vol. VII, No. 7.

³ "Ay algunos que con la hiel de sus entrañas procuran avenenar, deshazer y desluzir quanto digno de alabança con virtuoso sudor fabrica el más estudioso. Estos por dissimular su apassionada intencion, dan título de agenos á los que son propios trabajos, aplicándoles nombre de mendigados fragmentos." He seeks to vindicate himself by saying: "No se podrá negar ser artificio ingenioso explicar con curioso estilo las cosas más entre todos comunes y de la antigüedad más comunes."

in all his works, this moralizing element is most prominent in his later compositions, and especially in the *Varias Noticias*. The division of the book into *Variedades* is quite arbitrary, for the author rambles from one topic to another without any apparent order or system. Philosophy, ancient history, ethics and politics form the principal subjects, and his conclusions are always supported by copious quotations from the Greek and Latin authors, of whom he seems to have had a profound knowledge. These discussions, although perhaps profitable, are extremely wearisome, and our interest is only aroused when he treats the society of his own time.

We have seen him come forward as a stern moralist in *El Passagero*, fearlessly attacking the corrupt administration and the vices of private life. He adopted this same role in the *Varias Noticias*, and condemned the lack of interest in letters, and the abuses among the upper clergy and office holders. He complained that literary men received no protection, and scourged the loose morals of the young men and women. There can be no doubt that he was sincere in his effort to reform the vices of his time, and the part which he played demanded self-sacrifice, for after attacking the dishonest practices of those in power, he was not likely to receive any favours at their hands.

Surely Figueroa gives us a dark picture of the reign of Philip III, a period so brilliant for its literature, and so deplorable for its evils of corrupt and careless administration. However, the moralists and reformers constituted only a small minority; the Court and people turned a deaf ear to these warnings, and the year of the publication of the *Varias Noticias*, the idle and self-indulgent Philip IV came to power, and Spain sank still deeper in extravagance, political corruption and misery.

CHAPTER VII.

FIGUEROA AT NAPLES—DISMISSAL FROM OFFICE—HIS IMPRISONMENT AND TRIAL BEFORE THE INQUISI- TION—THE PUSILIPO—HIS LAST DAYS.

In the year 1622, Don Antonio Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba,¹ succeeded Don Antonio Zapata as Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples, and he assumed the duties of his new position on December 24 of that year. At that time, Figueroa was living at Madrid, and he at once made an effort to secure employment under the new Viceroy, feeling sure that the relationship between his family and that of the Duke of Alba, (*la vecindad de casas*, as he says in a letter ² dated August, 1624) would count in his favour. His petition to Bernardino Diaz, the Duke's secretary, was received favourably, and on February 22, 1623, he was appointed Auditor of the town of Lecce.³

When Figueroa arrived at Naples, the city was in a deplorable condition. Excessive taxation, coupled with a financial crisis, had brought the people to the verge of starvation, and owing to the illness of Hanibal Macedonio, Governor of the city, the administration of justice was at a standstill. Crimes were committed on all sides, and the

¹ It will be remembered that this Duke of Alba was a friend and patron of Lope de Vega, and had been celebrated by him in the *Arcadia*.

² This letter was published by Dr. H. A. Rennert in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VII, No. 7.

³ See Appendix, p. 100. Lecce is a small town near Naples.

guilty had no fear of punishment. Figueroa set to work with his accustomed vigour to check this reign of terror, and in the six months that his jurisdiction lasted, without regard to rank or condition, he hanged five men, and sent a hundred to the galleys. He was careful to send to the Duke of Alba a full account of all the cases which he tried, and the Viceroy expressed his satisfaction with what had been done.

On August 8, 1623, Figueroa and his colleague, D. Juan Antonio Ricardo were dismissed from office, and new appointments were made.¹ He at once wrote to the Viceroy, asking for an opportunity to defend himself against any charges which had been made against him, and on receiving no reply, he determined to go to see the Duke of Alba in person at Naples. He met Alzamoro, his successor, at Bitonto, and on his arrival at Naples, the Duke's secretary refused to discuss the nature of the charges against him, and would only say that he had incurred the Viceroy's displeasure. He made every effort to be reinstated, but his petitions were unheeded.

In a letter written by Figueroa in August, 1624,² he attributed the loss of his post to the hostility of Hanibal Macedonio, Governor of Naples. When the latter had recovered from a long illness, he learned with displeasure of the reputation for strict administration which Figueroa and his colleague had acquired, and not wishing to be overshadowed by these two new officers, he planned to make them lose the Viceroy's friendship. To gain this end he spread the report that Figueroa and Ricardo had agreed to administer the Tribunal as they pleased, and that Figueroa relied upon his intimacy with Bernardino Diaz to secure any office which

¹ Appendix, p. 100.

² Published in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VII, No. 7.

he desired. Figueroa tells us that the story was absolutely false, but the Duke blamed his Secretary for having allowed such a report to be circulated, and Diaz, in order to avoid any appearance of intimacy with Figueroa, refused to hand over the letters which the latter addressed to the Viceroy concerning the administration at Lecce. When the Duke heard of the discord between Figueroa and Ricardo and the other officers, he believed that they were the cause of the whole trouble, and straightway dismissed them.

We do not know how long Figueroa remained out of office, but he did not recover his position within a year, for in August, 1624, he wrote a long letter to the Duke of Alba, presenting his side of the case. In December, 1627, he held the position of *Auditor della Regia Udienza* of Catanzaro in the province of Calabria,¹ and lost this post on November 16, 1628.²

In the year 1627, Figueroa seems to have been the innocent victim of a clash between the ecclesiastical and royal authorities at Naples. In the preceding year, Giacinto Petronio, Bishop of Molfetta, was appointed Minister of the Inquisition, and his aggressive acts soon aroused the hostility of the Royal authorities, who forbade him to imprison laymen without notifying the Viceroy.³ The zealous Petronio, however, made light of this prohibition, and even imprisoned royal officers for having, in the discharge of their duties, committed certain acts which he considered hostile to himself and to the Holy Office.

In December, 1627, a certain Francesco Antonio Stantione, collector of the Monte di Pietà of Naples and an

¹ Appendix, p. 136.

² Appendix, p. 100.

³ Amabile, *Il santo ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli*, 1892, Vol. II, p. 35.

officer of the Viceroy, was sent to Nicotera to collect taxes.¹ He assessed the ecclesiastical as well as secular goods, and this angered certain religious orders which had always tried to escape the burden of royal taxes. These organizations had great influence with the Bishop of Nicotera, and when Stantione refused to give up his claims, he was excommunicated. Confident that he was acting according to the orders of the Viceroy, he persisted in trying to collect the amount which was due, and finally was imprisoned and roughly treated by the ecclesiastical authorities at Nicotera. When the news of this arrest reached the ears of the Duke of Alba, he immediately sent orders to the Regia Udienza of Calabria that Stantione should be released from the prison at Nicotera, and that after his release, he should appear before the Collaterale of Naples, under a penalty of a thousand ducats.

It was decided in the Regia Udienza of Calabria that Suárez de Figueroa should go to Nicotera to execute the orders of the Viceroy.² On his arrival there, he notified the Bishop that Stantione must be released, but the ecclesiastical authorities refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Viceroy. The affair admitted of no delay, for Stantione was dying of ill-treatment and neglect, and Figueroa decided to carry out his orders at all costs.

It seems that when Figueroa arrived at Nicotera, the Bishop suspected that he would try to release Stantione, and sent him a monitory, declaring that Stantione was a prisoner of the Holy Office. When he learned that

¹ Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, MS. 1016, fol. 105. Appendix, p. 108.

² A brief account of Figueroa's trouble with the Inquisition is found in Giannone, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*, Milan, 1822, Vol. IX, pp. 78-80. A Spanish translation of this passage is found in Vol. XXIII of the *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, p. 445 ff.

Figueroa boasted that he would set him free by main force, he warned him that in so doing he would violate the bull of Pius V, "*de protegendis*," and would be liable to the punishment therein specified.

Figueroa replied to the Bishop that the monitory could in no way affect his actions, for he was obliged to carry out the orders of the Viceroy, which he had received from Naples, and that if it was necessary, he would take possession of Stantione on his own authority. He then armed his troop, broke down four doors of the prison, and released Stantione, mid cries of "*Viva il Rè*" and "*Muoia il mal governo*." However, Stantione was later captured, and again thrown in prison by the officers of the Inquisition, and after some delay, was sent to Rome for trial. He admitted that Figueroa had released him from prison, but his fault seems to have been treated with indulgence, for it was decreed that he should return to Nicotera, and that the Bishop should publicly absolve him from excommunication.

Although the officers of the Inquisition had been balked in their case against Stantione, it still remained to punish Figueroa for having set at liberty a prisoner of the Holy Office, and for nearly two years repeated efforts were made to oblige him to go to Rome for trial. He was assured that the Inquisition would deal gently with his case, and that Petronio, Bishop of Molfetta, would also appear. However, the Viceroy felt that his authority had been slighted by the aggressive acts of Petronio, and in April, 1629,¹ he prohibited Figueroa from leaving Naples without his permission. He determined to make Figueroa's a test case to decide whether the royal or ecclesiastical jurisdiction was supreme in Naples, and in the meantime, the unfortunate victim of this dispute was confronted by a fine

¹ Appendix, p. 142.

of two thousand ducats for not obeying the summons to Rome, and the death penalty if he left Naples without the Viceroy's permission.

Throughout the year 1629, the authorities of the Inquisition made repeated efforts to bring Figueroa to trial, but without success. In August of that year, the Duke of Alba was succeeded in the Viceroyship by the Duke of Alcalá, who embraced the cause of Figueroa with as much zeal as his predecessor. Figueroa made every effort to win the favour of the new Viceroy, and in 1629, dedicated to him his new work, *Pusilipo*, and in a poem addressed to the Duke of Alcalá, appealed to him for aid:

O Fernando Magnánimo, mi voto
 Oyó piadoso el cielo, oyó mi quexa;
 Oyólo en fin, y al improviso dexa
 De mi calamidad el lazo roto.

 Pues nadie á tu piedad recorre en vano,
 En mí restaura el desmayado brio,
 Cobre nuevo decoro, y nueva forma;
 Mas que no hará tu generosa mano
 Si en todo imita á tu glorioso Tio,
 De toda ley, de todo acierto norma?

The royal authorities were obliged to support Figueroa, for if he lost his case, royal officers in the future would be afraid to obey the orders of the Viceroy, fearing to incur the hostility of the Inquisition. On April 4, 1629, Figueroa testified before the Collaterale, that after his courteous request to Petronio to release Stantione had been refused, he had set him at liberty himself with the aid of his troops and had found him half-dead, and showing signs of ill-treatment.¹ The Council agreed that Petronio had acted illegally in imprisoning an officer of the Viceroy with-

¹ Appendix, p. 102.

out the royal exequatur, and some of the members even suggested that Petronio give evidence that he had acted with the authority of the Holy Office, and on failing to do this, that he be expelled from the Kingdom.

The Duke of Alcalá showed that he supported Figueroa by appointing him Judge of Capua on January 2, 1630,¹ but this appointment was annulled five days later on the ground that Figueroa had been excommunicated by the ecclesiastical Court of Nicotera, and that although he had been ordered to set Stantione at liberty, he had not been told to break open the prison to accomplish this.² However, in a session of the Collaterale held on January 21, 1630, it was decided that Figueroa should not leave Naples,³ and that the Viceroy should take him under his protection until a new post be provided for him.

The Holy Office lost all hope of bringing Figueroa to trial by peaceful means, and determined to steal a march on the royal authorities by arresting him forcibly. On January 25, he was seen to enter the church of San Luis, near the Viceroy's palace, and there he was arrested and imprisoned by the officers of the Inquisition.⁴ The capture of Figueroa nearly caused a riot in the city, and seriously interfered with the festivals in honour of the birth of Prince Baltasar Carlos, eldest son of Philip IV. The news of his arrest was reported the same day to the Collaterale while in session.

The following day, January 26, the Collaterale met to discuss the new developments in Figueroa's case.⁵ The Viceroy announced that when he learned of Figueroa's imprisonment in the church of San Luis, he had immediately dispatched his troops to prevent the officers of the Inquisition

¹ Appendix, p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

from carrying him away. Petronio had resented this act, claiming that since Figueroa was a prisoner of the Holy Office, the royal authorities had no right to interfere in the case. The members of the Collaterale were divided as to Figueroa's responsibility in having defied the Inquisition, but all agreed that Petronio should give proof that he had acted with the authority of the Holy Office. It was voted that Figueroa should be confined in a fortress by the royal authorities, that the clerics who had taken part in his capture should be deprived of their arms, and that all laymen who had aided the ecclesiastical officers, should be imprisoned. It was further ordered that a message should be sent to Petronio, and that a deputy be sent to Rome to negotiate the affair.¹

In this message, which was signed on January 28, 1630, by the Duke of Alcalá and the members of the Collaterale, Petronio was censured for not having given notice to the Viceroy of his plans, and for failing to apply for the royal *exequatur* as was customary in such cases. He was ordered to present within three days the evidence of the authority, by virtue of which he had exercised jurisdiction in this matter, and that in the meantime, he should exercise no jurisdiction, nor have an armed force at his disposal, so that the peace of the city might not again be endangered. In accordance with the decision of the Collaterale, Figueroa was taken by royal officers to the Royal Palace, and later to the Castel Nuovo, where he remained seventeen days.²

The ecclesiastical authorities, however, resented this interference on the part of the Viceroy, and on February 2, the Pope addressed two letters to the Duke of Alcalá, reminding him of his duties toward the Church. In the first of these which is a reply to the message sent to Petronio,

¹ Appendix, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139.

the Pope denies the right of the Viceroy to prohibit a Bishop from exercising his religious functions, and urges him to atone for so great fault, by obediently following the instructions of the Church. In the second Brief, of the same date, the Pope declared that the Viceroy had violated the authority of the Inquisition in having allowed royal officers to set at liberty a prisoner of the Holy Office, and bade him obey the orders of the Papal Nuncio.¹

These two letters of the Pope were discussed at a session of the Collaterale, held on February 2, and grave fears were expressed lest submission to the Church in this case might result in a surrender of a part of the royal jurisdiction. The members seemed unwilling to make a definite decision in the matter, and voted that a deputy be sent to Rome to confer with the Pope.²

On February 9, the Pope's briefs were again discussed, and a reply was drawn up by D. Francisco Antonio de Alarcon.³ It was declared that the Viceroy should have been informed of the plans of the Inquisition before the arrest of Figueroa, and that the latter had been detained in Castel Nuovo by the royal authorities, pending the settlement of the case by the Pope. In regard to the demands of the Pope that the message sent to Petronio be revoked, and that Figueroa be handed over to the officers of the Holy Office, the Viceroy replied that the Bishop of Molfetta had not been prohibited from exercising the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, but had only been asked to prove that he had acted with the authority of that body. However, since the peace of the city was at stake, he could take no action until he had received an express order from the King, to whom he had made a full report of the case.

As for the second demand, the Viceroy declared that the

¹ Appendix, pp. 122-125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-131.

officers of the Inquisition had caused a serious disturbance in the city, which had only been checked by his presence, and that if he had believed that Figueroa's case came within the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, he would have handed him over to the Papal Nuncio. We see that the tone of the letter is conciliatory, but he insisted that the Bishop of Molfetta give evidence of his authority, and that Figueroa be detained by the royal authorities until instructions were received from the King.

Señor Alarcon reported to the Collaterale on February 12, that the Papal Nuncio had declared that Petronio was an authorized officer of the Inquisition, and that the Holy Office would be satisfied if Figueroa be sent to the prison of the Cardinal at Naples. The members of the Collaterale had found that it was no easy task to oppose the Inquisition, and agreed to this last demand, though they added in timid disapproval that they would resist any attempt on the part of the Holy Office to take Figueroa out of the Kingdom.¹

On February 14, Señor Alarcon reported to the Collaterale that the Papal Nuncio preferred that Figueroa be sent to his prison rather than to that of the Cardinal, for he believed that if the prisoner was entrusted to him, he would be better able to use his influence with the Pope in his behalf. The Nuncio demanded that the Cardinal's soldiers be given back their arms, and that no restrictions be laid upon Petronio in the exercise of his functions.²

The members of the Collaterale evidently repented the bold stand which they had taken at the beginning of the case, and welcomed the opportunity of withdrawing gracefully from their contest with the Inquisition. They decreed that Figueroa be sent to the prison of the Nuncio, and that the Cardinal's soldiers should receive again their arms, but

¹ Appendix, pp. 131-133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

they refused to take definite action in the case of Petronio. Figueroa was taken from Castel Nuovo, and placed in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities.¹ On August 7, 1630, D. Francisco Castaldo was appointed to defend him in his coming trial before the Inquisition.² During these intervening six months, Figueroa had been detained in the prison of the Papal Nuncio, but he still relied on the friendship and support of the Duke of Alcalá, and applied to him for financial aid on September 4.³

In September, 1630, Figueroa was put on trial for having released, by force of arms, Francisco Antonio Stantione from the ecclesiastical prison of Nicotera.⁴ Evidence was produced that Figueroa had been warned on his arrival at Nicotera that Stantione was a prisoner of the Holy Office, and that in attempting to release him, he would be liable to the penalties specified in the Bull of Pius V, "*de protegendis*," and that Figueroa had ignored this warning and had set Stantione at liberty, after breaking open the doors of the prison. He was also charged with having refused to go to Rome, although repeatedly summoned by the officers of the Inquisition.

Figueroa testified that he was fifty years of age, that he was born of noble parents of Valladolid, and that he had served his Majesty satisfactorily in various posts. He could not say definitely whether the Bishop had warned him that Stantione was a prisoner of the Inquisition, but stoutly maintained that in setting him at liberty, he had only obeyed the orders of his superiors at Naples. As for his failure to appear at Rome, he testified that in April, 1629, he had been forbidden by the Viceroy to leave Naples, under penalty of his life. The verdict was handed down on September 5, 1630, and Figueroa was declared guilty of

¹ Appendix, p. 134. ² *Ibid.*, p. 136. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 136. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

having violated the Bull of Pius V, "*de protegendis*."¹ He produced in his favour a letter of recommendation from Philip III to the Archduke Albert, dated 1606, which told of his many services to the King.²

We do not know what penalty was imposed upon Figueroa, but the case was not yet definitely settled. In spite of the unfavourable verdict, the Duke of Alcalá still hoped to defeat the plans of the Inquisition, and on November 5, 1630, he asked the Duke of Monteleón if there was someone in his service who might speak a good word for the prisoner.³ On November 18, the Viceroy ordered his agent at Rome to lend all possible aid to the cause of Figueroa,⁴ and on December 17, he made a similar request to the Count of Monterey, because he felt that the royal jurisdiction was involved in the affair.⁵

The case was taken to Rome for final settlement, and on January 13, 1631, the Duke asked D. Alvaro de Toledo to give all possible assistance to Figueroa, who was to be placed on trial at Rome.⁶ Five days later, he sent Dr. Tomas Imperato to Rome to support Figueroa's cause, and allowed him two hundred ducats for secret expenses.⁷ However, in spite of these efforts of the Viceroy, Figueroa's condition was not much improved. On March 30, he reminded the Duke that he had not yet received fifty ducats which had been promised to him months before, and that he was suffering extreme want. The Viceroy ordered that this sum be paid to him at once.⁸

We learn from a letter of the Duke of Monterey, the new Viceroy, to his cousin, Cardinal Borja, soliciting aid in behalf of Figueroa, that the latter was still detained in the

¹ Appendix, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

prison of the Papal Nuncio.¹ He said that the first thing to which he had turned his attention on assuming his new post was the case of Figueroa, which had been pending so many months and which was not yet settled. He reminded him that although Figueroa had been freed from the censure, he had been condemned to the penalty prescribed in the Bull "*de protegendis*," and was still in the prison of the Nuncio, in as bad straits as the first day of his imprisonment. He begged him to aid in procuring the documents authorizing his release, for it had been agreed on the day of his conviction that the Pope should pardon him. We do not know whether this appeal of the Count of Monterey had any effect upon the Pope, but the Viceroy's interest in Figueroa continued, and on July 4, 1631, he sent him forty ducats to help pay the expenses of his imprisonment.²

At a session of the Collaterale on September 13, a letter from the King, dated March 18, 1631, was read.³ He condemned the imprisonment of Figueroa, and approved the message which had been sent to Petronio, bidding him show evidence that he had acted with the authority of the Inquisition, and he ordered that in the future, no ecclesiastical officers should exercise jurisdiction without the royal exequatur, and that ministers of the Inquisition should not be allowed to carry arms. This attitude of the King may have contributed to Figueroa's release, but his delay in sending his opinion had cost the unfortunate victim of the quarrel over a year of imprisonment.

On February 13, 1632, by order of the Viceroy, Figueroa was paid two hundred ducats for secret expenses.⁴ We do not know when he was released from the Nuncio's

¹ Appendix, pp. 152-153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

prison. The next certain date in his life is January 3, 1633 when he was appointed Abogado Fiscal of the Audiencia of Trani.¹

In the year 1629, the last literary work of Figueroa which we possess, was published at Naples with the title, *Pusilipo, Ratos de conversacion, en los que dura el paseo*. The book appears to have been written to win the friendship of the Duke of Alcalá, the newly appointed Viceroy, for the author felt that his sole hope for safety lay in gaining the support of the royal officers. He bestowed lavish praise upon the Duke of Alcalá, and begged him to imitate the glorious deeds of his ancestor, Per Afan de Ribera, who also had been Viceroy at Naples.

The scene of the book is a garden on the hill of Posilipo, overlooking the Bay of Naples, where four friends sought the cool breezes during the long summer days. *Pusilipo*, which is a record of their conversation, is composed of six *juntas* or meetings, and includes a large number of verses which were introduced from time to time into the dialogue.

The book shows evident signs of haste in composition, and the author rambles from politics and the principles of government to religion and natural philosophy without any apparent order or system. He evidently wished to make sure that no charge of heresy could be brought by the Inquisition, for a deep religious tone pervades the entire work, and he rivals the most impassioned mystic in his description of the joys of Heaven. His discussion of the government of Naples is valuable as an historical document, but aside from that the book offers little of interest.

This is the last work of Figueroa of which anything more than the title is known. In the Prologue, he promised to publish shortly the *Residencia de Talentos*, which would be

¹ Appendix, p. 155.

followed by the *Olvidos de Príncipes*, treating the ills brought upon the world by unworthy princes. Both of these books were mentioned in the list of works, composed and published by him, which was inserted in the edition of *España Defendida*, published at Naples in 1644. As far as I know, these books have never been mentioned by any bibliographer, and it is fair to infer that they were written, but never published.

We have seen that on January 3, 1633, Figueroa was given the post of Abogado Fiscal of the Audiencia of Trani. On October 10, of the same year, he signed at that place the Aprobacion for *Los Pastores del Betis* of D. Gonzalo de Saavedra. This is the last certain date in his life, and I was unable to find any later reference to him in the Archives at Naples.

In 1644, his epic poem was republished at Naples, and is described as the fifth edition, and "*por su autor reconocido, y de las erratas enmendado.*" Since no other edition is known except the one published at Madrid in 1612, we may doubt whether this was really the fifth edition, but it is probable that Figueroa was still living in 1644, and personally revised the new edition of the poem. In the Dedication of *Pusilipo*, which appeared in 1629, he says that he had served the King for thirty-two years in various posts, and in the Prologue to the edition of *España Defendida*, published in 1644, he says that he had held office for forty-two years, that is, he had been employed for ten years between 1629 and 1644. He did not receive his appointment at Trani until 1633, and must have held that or some other office at least until 1643 when he undertook a new edition of his poem.

We learn something of Figueroa's literary activity after 1629 in the Prologue to the 1644 edition of *España Defendida*, in which he included a list of the books which

he had composed and published up to that time. Besides the two works which he had promised in *Pusilipo*, *Residencia de Talentos*, and *Olvidos de Príncipes*, he mentioned two others as written and published. These were entitled, *Desvarios de las Edades*, *escarmientos para todos* and *L'Aurora, con los primeros ejercicios de vivientes*. None of these books are known to exist, and it is hardly likely that they were ever published, but we can judge from the titles that the didactic element which first showed itself in the *Plaza Universal* and *El Passagero*, was emphasized in these last works.

We do not know the date of Figueroa's death, but it probably occurred after 1644. After his release from prison, he ceased to be a public figure at Naples, and in Spain he was well-nigh forgotten. In an age when funeral panegyrics were almost a mania, his death passed unheeded by the poets. That he was a writer of no mean ability can not be doubted, but his long literary labours failed to win for him recognition. His convictions were too strong to allow him to court popular favour, and his life was embittered by disputes with his contemporaries. Of his very considerable literary production, there is little of permanent value. Most of his books were written to gain him a livelihood, and only with their aid was he enabled to eke out a miserable existence. Almost without exception, they lie covered with dust in the libraries of Spain, and his readers are confined to students of Spanish letters. However, his translation of the *Pastor Fido* is a work of great merit, his pastoral romance is one of the best of its kind, and *El Passagero* is perhaps the best document we have for the study of Spanish society at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

But aside from his literary work, the story of his career is of great interest. Fortune rarely smiled upon his ef-

forts, but he persevered, refusing to resort to unworthy methods to achieve success. Although he can not be ranked as a great writer, we can honour him as a man of high moral principles, and as a steadfast champion of the highest literary and political ideals.

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25. *Desvarios de las edades, escarmientos para todos.*
Included in the above mentioned list.
26. *L'Aurora, con los primeros exercicios de vivientes.*
Included in the above mentioned list.

APPENDIX.

I.

LETTER OF PHILIP III TO THE ARCHDUKE ALBERT.¹

Serenissimo Señor, el Doctor Christóval Suárez de Figueroa me ha representado que ha diez y seys años que me sirue en cargos de administracion de justicia y gouierno, particularmente en el oficio de Auditor de la Infantería Española, que siruió en Piemonte y Saboya, y en él de Abogado Fiscal de la Prouincia de Martesana y Contrascritor de Blados: que así mesmo fué Juez de la ciudad de Teramo en el Reyno de Nápoles, y Comissario del Colateral, donde hizo muy particulares seruicios contra delinquentes y foragidos: Suplicándome, atento á esto, y al desseo que tiene de continuarlos en esos Estados, le hiziese merced de un entretenimiento en ellos, en el interim que V. A. le ocupe en cosas de su profesion, y por la buena relacion que se me ha hecho de sus partes y méritos, y de lo bien que ha procedido en los puestos que refiere, he querido encomendarsele á V. A. como lo hago, para que en las ocasiones que se ofrecieren de su profesion y acrecentamiento, tenga cuenta con honorarle, fauorecerle y emplearle; que holgaré mucho de toda la comodidad y buena obra que recibiere de mano de V. A. á quien guarde Nuestro Señor como yo desseo. De Madrid, á 8 de Abril, de 1606.

Yo El Rey.

Buen hermano de V. A.

Andres de Prado.

¹ Published in the introduction to *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1613.

II.

El Duque mi señor ha hecho merced á Don Cristoual Suarez de Figueroa de la plaça de Auditor de leche que uaca por muerte de D. Rodrigo de Quiroga y manda que por ese candidato le haga V. S. el despacho acostumbrado. Palacio á 22 de Hebrero. 1623.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Governi ed Uffici, No. 2, p. 1.

III.

Por justos respectos ha mandado el Duque mi señor proueer la plaça del Dr. D. Xpoual de figueroa, Auditor de leche en persona del Dr. D. Geronimo de Alcamora Urssino sin embargo que no aya cumplido el tiempo y assi manda que V. S. dé orden se le den los despachos necesarios. Palacio al 8 de Agosto 1623.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Governi ed Uffici, No. 2, p. 13b.

IV.

Por justos respectos ha mandado el Duque mi señor proueer la plaça de Dr. Inacio Antonio de Richardo, Auditor de leche en persona de Don Inacio francisco Cauo Bianco sin embargo que no aya cumplido y manda que V. S. dé orden se le den los despachos necesarios. Palacio al 8 de Agosto 1623.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Governi ed Uffici, No. 2, p. 13b. This document refers to Figueroa's colleague, who was dismissed from office at the same time.

V.

En 16 de Nouiembre (1628) hizo S. E. merced de la plaça de Auditor de la Provincia de Calabria Ultra en persona del Sr. Seuastian Pineli en lugar del Dr. D. Xpoual Suares de Figueroa á quien S. E. ha ymbiado á llamar por dignos respectos.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1847, p. 16b.

VI.

DI NAPOLI DA MONSIGNOR NUNZIO, LI 29 GENNAIO 1629.

Ho trattato hoggi a lungo col Sig. Vicerè, et esagerandoli con spirito, e con modo la mala qualità dell'attione d'essersi leuato di poter del Santo officio il Figueroa, et mandata hortatoria a Monsignor Petronio, e l'importanza delli impegni, ne'quali questi Ministri lo uanno tuttavia mettendo; le pessime conseguenze che portano; lo scandalo che qui se ne prende; quello che se ne riceuerà douunque simili attentati saranno intesi, non eccettuandone l'istessa Corte di Spagna, doue tanto è riuerita, e temuta l'inquisitione; concludendo che ben considerata la cosa, non troueria memoria in Regno di eccesso più esecrando, e detestabile di questo; che però uolesse pensare a riparare, per preuenire inconuenienti maggiori, et insieme il castigo di Dio, il quale non è per lasciare ingiudicate in causa sua così notabili offese. Le sue risposte sono state cortesie, con ringratiare delle considerationi addotte, e promessa di farne sopra riflessione. Veggio però, che alle parole non corrisponde il cuore, doue se io non m'inganno, si nutrisce poco amoreuole talento; et il dolce parlare non è stato per altro, che per sfuggire di entrare ne'meriti del negotio, nel quale non mai è stato possibile tirarlo restringendosi solo a dire, e ripetere; quà non è altro Inquisitore che l'ordinario, a cui douriano mandarsi gli ordini dell'Inquisitione, nel qual caso non si replicherebbe; che Monsignor Petronio non si conosce per Ministro del Santo Officio, mentre non ha mostrate sue patenti, e molto meno riceuutone l'exequatur; onde segue che nella congiuntura presente non si sia fatto nemmeno aggrauio a quel Tribunale. Che ha già scritto costà, e ui hauerebbe mandato Ministro espresso a sincerarsi. A quanto mi ha risposto, ho apportato con li migliori termini possibili, repliche adequate conforme alle notitie datemi da Monsignor Petronio: Ma S. E. per sua natura forse non bene intentionata, si rimette facilmente alle prauae consultationi dei Ministri, e poco cura le ragioni contrarie, quali in questa occasione ho procurato, che se gli dicano efficacissime e da parte le più

auttoreuoli, e piu potenti. Io nè giorno nè notte riuolgo mai il pensiero da tal affare; nè mancherò d'ufficio, o d'opra conveniente.

Vatican Archives, Rome. Nunziatura di Napoli, filza 27, il 29 gennaio, 1629.

VII.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE VENERIS 30, MARTIS 1629.

Si trattò che l'auditor figueroa era stato citato dal Santo officio a comparire a Roma fra otto dì, sotto pena di ducati 2000. Si ordinò che intrasse detto Auditore figueroa, et disse che lui non hauea fatto altro che obbedire l'ordine di S. E. che escarcerasse il commissario del consiglio che staua malissimamente carcerato et che lui procurò con ogni termine buono di auere il carcerato, et non hauendolo potuto alterare, et stando il Vescovo con cento clerici armati, li fu forza di rompere le carceri, et pigliarselo, il che fu senza nessun disordine, si concluse che si parli a Petronio, et che si faccia mandato al detto Auditore che sotto pena della vita non parta da Napoli senza ordine di sua Eccellenza.

Su Excelencia mandò de nuevo tratarse este punto con interuencion del Sr. D. Francisco Antonio de Alarcon y ansi oy Miercoles 4 de Abril uino el dicho Sr. D. francisco Antonio y los señores Regentes Tapia, Enriquez Lopez, et Brancia y los consejeros Salinas, Rouito, Corcion, Galeoto, Mastrilo fiscal, y D. Pedro Urries. Il fiscale Galeoto disse che questi signori ecclesiastici si auuagliano di questa chiaue della santa inquisitione per carcerare che li piace, et che quando non precede altra causa, allora si deue dar conto a S. E. per l'ecclesiastici. Però quando precede causa, si uede chiaramente che è color quesitus, come è in questo caso dell'Auditore figueroa, che quanto ha fatto, l'ha fatto per ordine di S. E. et che l'ha fatto con bonissimo modo, et disse se s'introduce questo di poter chiamare li ministri che eseguono li ordini di S. Maestà, non trouaua chi l'ubidisca. Il simile disse l'auocato fiscale di Vi-

caria, Mastrillo, et che sempre che il santo officio ha hauuto bisogno di chiamare alcuno per causa di inquisitione, sempre ha cercato licenza a li Signori Vicerè.

D. LOPEZ. Que se conforma con lo apuntado otra uez y que se escriua á Roma, y se dé parte de todo á Su Magestad.

URRIES. Que es bien tomar resolucion primero en el Artículo general con el Nuncio y Su Santidad, y que se le haga el mandato so pena de la vida.

CORCIONE. Che si conforma con quello che si appuntò nell'altra Giunta, et che se le faccia il mandato sotto pena della vita, che sempre s'è così osseruato, tanto con Giovanni francesco d'Aponte, quanto con il Barone di Montesti Angelo, et altri, et che mai nel Regno s'è carcerato nissuno, senza dar prima parte a S. E., et che si mandino le Scritture in Roma che l'Auditore non sta inquisito di cose toccanti al Santo officio. Si toccò la porta, et il portero disse ch'era uenuto l'Auditor figueroa, et S. E. comandò che intrasse, come intrò, et disse, Que en execucion de la órden de Su Excelencia, hauía saccado medio muerto al Comissario de la cárcel donde le tenía muy maltrattado el obispo, assy de comer como que ni aun le hauía permitido que le entrassen un colchon, y que huiendosele antes pedido con gran cortesía, no huiéndosele querido dar, le fué fuerza romper las puertas, y estando el obispo con cien clérigos, y no hallándose él syno con doce soldados, y otros ocho del Battallon, los hiço juntar con tocar la caxa y no para ir contra el Obispo. Y que lo hauía todo gouernado de manera que no hauía sucedido ningun escándalo, ny inconbeniente.

ROUITO. Che in quanto al non potersi carcerare nissuno senza l'exequatur, oltre che così s'è osseruato, si camina anco per termine di ragione, et l'Inquisitore sta obligato di mandare l'exequatur como lo dice Legna, et che Monsignor Petronio non può ponere mano a nissuna Commissione o ordine che le uiene da Roma, senza di mandare l'esequatur et che si faccia intendere a Monsignor Petronio che in materia di Santo Officio, o qualsiuoglia che le viene commessa da Roma, non usi di dette commissioni, nè l'esegua, senza dar prima parte a S. E. con hauere li debiti dispacci, et che perciò se le faccia il man-

dato a pena della vita all'Auditore che non parta, et che si scriua a Roma et a Sua Maestà dandole conto di ogni cosa.

SALINAS. Que parece que este negocio del Auditor no es caso de inquisicion, y que trattar oy en Roma del remedio general, fuera perderlo; que se podrá dar auiso á los de Su Magestad que asisten en Roma, y se le embie el escrito del Sr. fabio Galioto, que es muy curioso.

D. BRANCIA. Che questi signori ecclesiastici uanno sempre grancendo, et che esso si ricorda di hauer uisto li Articoli fatti dalla Città di Napoli per Placido di Sungro, quando si uolea ponere la inquisitione, dallo che ne nacquero tanti trauagli, com'è noto, et che questo nome di inquisitione è tanto odioso che se si sapesse che ui è tribunale di Inquisitione, ne succederia certamente scandalo; tanto maggiormente se si sapesse che n'è stato carcerato quel libraro, quale l'hauenuano posto dentro una cisterna, et carcerato et mandato anco a Roma il Calandrino, che con citarse l'auditore che conparisse a Roma sotto pena di 2000 ducati, saria molto peggio. Tanto più, che per causa di hauere ubidito l'ordine di S. Maestà che per euitare l'inconuenienti, le pare che si ponga in un castello, con molta comodità, et si mandi fede in Roma, che sta carcerato. Et per lo che tocca alli remedij generali, a lui le pare che in Roma si guadagnerà poco, ma che le pare che saria bene che alcuna persona parlasse risolutamente a Sua Santità, che Sua Maestà non vole passare per questo, et così se le potrà fare il mandato sotto pena della vita, o tenerlo come meglio comandarà S. E. in un castello come ha detto per euitare l'inconuenienti che potriano succedere.

D. ENRIQUEZ. Que quando se trattó la otra uez el de D. Tomas Calandrino, se tomó por assentado que en esta materia de Santo officio, sienpre se ha dado noticia á Su Excelencia, y por esto nos deuemos mantener en esta possession nuestra. Pero se ha de aduertir en esto del Tribunal, que se ha introducido de la Inquisicion, de que se ha hecho consulta á Su Magestad, y entanto hemos de tener cuenta de usar de nuestro derecho; y en lo de dar cuenta á Roma, no le parece que approuechará nada, pero se podrán enbiar los papeles á los

Ministros de Su Magestad para que estén informados, y hazer la consulta á Su Magestad, y entanto se le haga el Mandato so pena de la vida que no parta, porque de otra manera no se hallará ministro que obedezca las órdenes de Su Magestad y de Su Excelencia: y en quanto al ponerle en un castillo, no le parece, porque no se diga que se ha hecho por castigarle.

D. TAPIA. Que en esta materia ya se ha dado cuenta á Su Magestad con la consulta, y conbiene tambien que se dé cuenta á Roma al Sr. Conde de Monterrey, porque la dé á Su Santidad, y le parece que este hombre se ponga en seguro, ó prendendole en una cárcel, ó que esté en el quartel adonde no le prenderán, y que es diferente de Aponte, que era Regente, y que como Ministro de Su Magestad, no podía partir, lo que no milita en éste que ya ha acabado su oficio.

EL SENOR VISITADOR. Dixo, que no se podía offrecer materia de mayor consideracion desta en el Reyno y que recojendo algo de lo que han dicho estos señores, y de lo que él sabe, en siete años que ha estado en la cancillería de Valladolid y de Granada, en que demás de la comission que da Su Santidad el priuilegio, se le da Su Magestad, y quitta á quien le parece como hizo á Fray Luys de Aliaga, y puso á D. Andrés Pacheco, y despues al Cardenal Zapata, y en el Consejo superior de Inquisicion, Su Magestad prouee todas las plazas de los Inquisidores, y de más, Su Magestad nomina dos señores seglares de Castilla, que interuienen y votan, y en la Cancillería de Valladolid, el Inquisidor no puede votar cosa ninguna sin los oydores, y que assi se acostumbra en España. Pero en quanto á esto de Nápoles de Petronio, cierto es que mientras el Nuncio no se admite sin el exequatur, tanto más en materia de Inquisicion es menester que Petronio primero exiua la comission que tiene, que ó es particular, ó universal, y que no la exiuiendo, no se le permita de exercer, ó que se heche del Reyno, y en quanto al particular, no le parece causa de Inquisicion, mientras no hizo más de excarcarar al otro, y en lo de los casados dos veces, etc.....

Se concluyó:

Que se haga el mandato al Auditor figueroa so pena de la

vida que no salga de Nápoles sin orden de Su Excelencia, advirtiéndole que no salga del cuartel y que de todo, se dé cuenta al Conde de Monterey y á Su Magestad, y en lo de Petronio, se le diga como exerce jurisdiccion, y que uaya el fiscal Mastrilo á decirselo.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 5b-10.

VIII.

El Duque mi sr. ha hecho merced al Dr. Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa del Judicato de Capua que está vaco por muerte del Consejero Don Christóbal de Morales, de que aviso á V. S. para que por cancelería le dé los despachos necesarios. Palacio á 2 de Enero, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Governi ed Uffici, No. 1849, p. 11.

IX.

Haviendo proveido el Duque mi Sr. el Judicato de Capua en el Dor. D. Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa, ha reparado en que la corte episcopal de Nicotera le descomulgó por haver sacado de sus cárceles á francisco Stantione, Comisario del Consejo, rompiendo las cárceles, y que en el orden que se le dió por Colateral para escarcelar al preso, no se le da esta autoridad de romper las cárceles para escarcelarle como se ve de la Provision del Colateral, y así dize S. E. que V. S. entienda esto y le instruye con su parecer. Palacio, 7 de Enero, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 555, p. 97b.

X.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE LUNE XXI JANUARIJ, 1630.

D. Lopez riferì lo dell'Auditor figueroa, che l'hanno chiamato a Roma, si trattò se stante il mandato fattoli sotto pena della

vita che non parta da Napoli, douea andare, et se stante l'istanza che fa Monsr. Nuntio, se le douea dare il Giudicato di Capua nel quale S. E. l'ha peruisto.

Il fiscal Galeoto supplicò S. E. dicendo che si seruisse di fauorirlo, perchè lo meritaua, hauendo obedito S. E. et il Collaterale, che l'ordinarono che scarcerasse il Commissario del Consiglio che tenea carcerato il Vescovo di Nicotera. Si concluse che in conformità del mandato che se l'è fatto, non vada in Roma; et che mentre si tratta di darle nuovo officio, S. E. si serua tenerlo in mano.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 24.

XI.

BELMONTE. En este punto han prendido de parte del Inquisidor al Auditor figueroa, i le detienen en la iglesia de San Luis, i dize S. E. que V. S. le diga lo que se deve hazer en este caso, i como se podrá prevenir que no le lleben á Roma, como á Mariscote, de que aviso á V. S. que Dios guarde muchos años. Palacio, 25 de Henero, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 556, fol. 31. Cancelleria, No. 18.

XII.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE SABATI, 26 JANUARIJ, 1630.

Su Excelencia mandó tenerse Junta de juridiccion por la qual uinieron los señores Regentes Tapia, Enriquez et Lopez, y los consejeros Rouito, Salinas, Salgado, Zufia, Corchon, Casanate, y Galioto fiscal. Vinieron después Mastrilo, y D. francisco de Ocampo. Entró S. Excelencia con el Señor Visitador General, y dixo Su Excelencia: Que ayer le uinieron á decir, que en San Luys hauían preso al Dr. D. Xpobal de figueroa, y que hauéndolo consultado, le pareció embiar soldados, que no dexassen sacar á Figueroa, y que esta mañana

hauía estado con el Monsr. Petronio, y Su Excelencia le hauía dicho, que estrañaua mucho el modo, con que hauía mandado prender este honbre, y que se podía assegurar que él hauía de usar todos los medios que conbenían para que Su Magestad no perdiese un punto de su real juridicion, y que Petronio le hauía respondido, que esto era caso de Inquisicion, y le estaua ordenado de Roma por la Congregacion del santo officio en que entran muchos Señores Cardenales españoles, y que lo pondría en las cárceles del Nuncio, y no se amouería del Reyno. Il sr. Regente Lopez fè la relatione, et disse, che hauendo il Vescovo di Nicotera mandato con molti clerici armati a carcerare francesco Antonio Stantione, commissario del S. C. sotto pretesto che auesse fatto fare esecuzione a certi parenti di clerici, lo tenea con pericolo di morte dentro le sue carceri. Per il che, parue al Collaterale, et al Sr. Duca de Alua, allora Vicerè, ordinare che ci andasse il Preside che allora era D. Camillo delli Monti, et per sua indispositione non potendo, ci andò detto D. Christoforo figueroa, Auditore in quella Prouincia, il quale scarcerò detto Commissario dalle carceri di detto Vescovo, et lo ritrouò molto maltrattato, et quasi morto. Per il che, essendo poi uenuto in Napoli detto Auditore, se l'erano intimati due Monitorij, che si conferisse in Roma, et essendo stato trattato, et riferito questo in Collaterale, se l'era fatto mandato sotto pena della vita che non partisse; et che sempre s'era giudicato, che detto Auditore non era stato chiamato a Roma per cosa di Santo Officio, se non per causa della detta escarceratione fatta da detto Commissario del Consiglio per ordine del Sr. Duca de Alua, et del Collaterale. Il Fiscal Galeoto supplicò S. E. pigliasse qualche gagliardo espediente per rimediare a questo inconveniente poichè si uede, che il Commissario del Consiglio che era stato carcerato dal Vescouo di Nicotera, non era stato per causa del Santo Officio, poichè si uede che essendo andato in Roma, ne l'aueano subito mandato, et che l'auditore non fu se non mero esecutore dell'ordine del Sr. Duca de Alua, et del Collaterale, et scarcerò detto Commissario che staua ingiustamente carcerato, et quello che s'è fatto oggi con l'auditor figueroa, non è per altro se non

per hauere ubidito l'ordine di S. E., et per difendere la sua real Giuriditione, et che li ecclesiastici per opprobrio della Giuriditione di Sua Maestà, et deludere la Maestà Regia, hanno fatto questa attione, et che all'Auditore, non se li può imputare niente di cosa toccante a Santo Officio, non hauendo fatto altro che ubidire l'ordine del suo superiore, et che quando ben fosse caso di Santo officio, tanpoco si può carcerare nessuno senza ordine di S. E., et che così lo dice Dominico di Santo Geminiano, canonista tanto potente quod debet implorare brachium seculare, et che così s'è osseruato in questo Regno, et perciò supplica S. E. per li remedij che sono necessarij per seruizio della Giuriditione regia, et che non solo si dia libertà all'Auditore, ma si detenghino quelli che sono uenuti a carcerarlo, et che Monsr. Petronio ha fondato un Tribunale formato del Santo officio, con deputatione di dodici Giudici, non potendolo fare per stare quà l'ordinario, che deue procedere: che perciò supplica S. E. che mentre non ui era exequatur, essendo negotio di tanta conseguenza, si degni ordinare che sfratti dal Regno.

MASTRILLO. Che tutto quello che oggi si tratta, sta deciso, et concluso quando si trattò l'altra volta di D. Tomaso Calandrino, et che così supplicaua S. E. si seruisse ordinare anco in questo caso, et trattandosi di un Tribunale introdotto clandestinamente, supplica S. E. ordinasse si sfrattasse Monsr. Petronio, et si ordinasse alli Soldati che liberassero l'Auditore D. Christoual de figueroa. S. E. ordenó si votasse y enpeçasse el Sr. Regente Lopez.

D. LOPEZ. Que el Auditor es inocente, y no ha culpado en nada, hauiendo obedecido á sus Superiores, y no le culpan de otro, sino que rumpió las cárceles, no se le hauiendo ordenado, lo que no es así. Porque haviéndosele mandado que lo escarcerasse, consiguientemente se lo ordenaua, que quando no se lo entregarían, rumpiesse las cárceles, y que hauiendo Su Excelencia tenido respecto á no querer que usasse de la merced del Judicato de Capua que le hauía hecho, le parece que hayan hecho un desacato y atreuimiento muy grande, viniendo á prenderle delante de los ojos de Su Excelencia con

familia armada, y en lugar adonde estaua el sitial de Su Excelencia, y por esto mande Su Excelencia se ponga en seguro al Auditor figueroa, y en quanto á Petronio, se le diga que muestre el exequatur que tiene para administrar lo que administra, y no teniéndolo, se le haga orden que vaya luego á su obispado, y supplica Su Excelencia que embie una persona á Roma.

CASANATE. Que si el Comissario del Consejo estaua preso por el Santo officio, cierto es que el Auditor está legitimamente descomulgado segun la opinion de los Canonistas, aunque se le haya mandado que no parta, y hauiendo passado el año como ensordeciente, se puede llamar á Roma. Pero este conocimiento toca al Ordenario, y que queriendolo quitar al Ordenario, Su Magestad puede prohiuir que no se haga Tribunal nuevo, y supuesto que Su Magestad lo puede prohiuir, es menester ueamos como se puede remediar, y assy con lo que haze Su Excelencia en este caso, ó quita la Inquisicion del Reyno, ó se la planta perpetuamente. Porque en los demás casos, siempre se ha procedido clandestinamente, pero aora que ha llegado á los ojos de Su Excelencia, es menester dar los remedios que conbienen, y supuesto que Petronio ha inouado, y no tiene exequatur, le parece que se le diga que muestre la comission, que si fuere conforme al derecho, se le dé el exequatur; pero no teniendo el exequatur, no permita Su Excelencia que Petronio lo haga, y hauiendo hecho tres ó quatro cosas escandalosas sin tener comission ninguna, turbandole y inquietandole el Reyno, Su Excelencia puede mandar que salga déllo, no in Vim jurisdictionis, sed in Vim economicæ possessionis. Y en quanto á figueroa, le parece que se libre de manos de los ecclesiasticos, y con ocasion que parten las galeras (por quitarse Su Excelencia esta piedra de escándalo), lo embie á España, dándole alguna ayuda de costa. Y á los que le han uenido á prender, los desarmen dentro de la yglesia, sujettándose al parecer de los demás d'estos señores.

CORCIONES. Che Sua Santità ben può delegare, o che si pigli informatione quà in Regno, o che si trasmetta a Roma; et che si giudichi anco in Regno. Però, dell'una et dell'altra

manera, tengono obbligo li ecclesiastici di presentare la *bull*a, o potestà che tengono, perchè essendoci difficoltà, non se le da l'*exequatur*, et se Monsr. Petronio che esercita giuriditione del Santo officio, la deue presentare così come fece istanza lui quando era fiscale. Et perciò, concorre col Sr. Casanate che se le faccia inbasciata, che esibisca la *Bulla*, o ordine che tiene, il che è conforme all'antica possessione di Sua Maestà di dare l'*exequatur* a tutte le bulle, et di non potersi carcerare persone laice senza ordine di S. E. Però in quanto a questo particolare dell'Auditor figueroa, mentre lui non sa di che sta inquisito, non può dire che si liberi, tanto più che Monsr. Petronio et il Nuntio dicono, che è delitto di Santo officio, et conclude: che a rispetto di quelli che lo sono uenuti a carcerare, se le leuino l'armi, et la persona dell'Auditore si tenga custodita finchè si informi meglio, et a Monsr. Petronio, se le mandi imbasciata, come ne fece lui instantia la prima volta.

DE OCAMPO. Que en las Juntas passadas, está asentado que este Tribunal no tiene *exequatur*, y que Su Excelencia no lo deue permitir, y si esto es assy, quanto este Tribunal haze, todo es nulo, á respecto de las personas seglares, y que tambien está asentado que no puede prender á ningun lego sin orden de Su Excelencia, y que quando se quiso extraer á Roma al obispo de Poçol, que es conocido que es súbdito del Papa, el Señor Duque de Alua le dió el *exequatur*, y tambien quando él estuvo Comissario de la Peste, uino un frayle domingo con el *exequatur* de Su Excelencia, y que agora es muy claro que es violencia y usurpacion de la Juridicion de su Magestad, porque el Auditor sacó un vassallo de Su Magestad de la cárcel del Opisbo por orden de Su Excelencia, y por esto, no es cosa de Santo officio, y que no deuián quatro pícaros vellacos uenir á los ojos de Su Excelencia á prender un Ministro, y maltratarle, y que esto no ha sucedido ab Initio Mundi, y que deue de hauer en esto alguna mina, y que para sí, aunque Petronio tuviesse cartas de Su Magestad, mientras no ha uenido por el *exequatur*, le parece que se vaya, porque tomando Su Excelencia medios términos, pone en duda la Juridicion de Su Magestad. Pero si hay escrúpulo,

concorre con la mayor parte, y que Su Excelencia le mande soltar al figueroa, y dexé á los mismos españoles que le suelten, y si los que le prendieron no son clérigos, Su Excelencia los mande poner en una galera, y que este es su voto y lo firmará de su mano, y lo embiará á Su Magestad.

ZUFIA. Que el caso es el más graue, y más digno de consideracion que se haya jamás offrecido, y que todo lo que se puede hazer con acto prudencial, le parece que se haga. Pero conbiene que Su Excelencia haga todas las demostraciones, siendo de tanto exenplo, y que en caso de erexía, él tiene que la santa inquisicion tenga cláusula privativa, pero sabemos que no es caso de erexía, mientras á él que sacó de la cárcel, huiéndose presentado en Roma, le licenciaron, y que mientras hay el ordenario, no se pueden extraer los vasallos de Su Magestad del Reyno, y que él por modestía se accomoda con el Señor Casanate, y que se embie uno destos señores fiscales á Petronio, que le muestre la comission que tiene, y el exequatur, y que salga dentro de dos días del Reyno no huiéndolo hecho. Y en quanto á los esbirros que procedieron con esta insolencia, no hiziera mucho escrúpulo extraerlos y echarlos en una galera. Todavía concorre que se desarmen, y se tome informacion de un hecho tan desuergonçoso, y hallando alguno dellos seglar, se trate en junta de Juridicion, y hallandose clérigos se dexten, y entretanto se guarden. Y en quanto al Auditor figueroa, no concorre que uaya á España, y en tenerle preso es un pedaço de desautoridad de Su Magestad, y que salga luego libre el Auditor, y mande Su Excelencia que le defiendan, y se diga á Petronio que no haga cosa ninguna contra él.

SALGADO. Que él promete ser breue, y dessea cumplirlo, y que él entiende que no hay ninguno que diga lo contrario, que todos los mandatos del Pontífice se exequarían por Su Excelencia, y que no conociéndose Petronio por Inquisidor, no huiendo otro Inquisidor que el Cardenal, esto solo basta en conciencia, y que aunque tuviesse toda la autoridad Petronio, no teniendo el exequatur, no puede usar della, y que este caso no tiene comparacion ninguna con los demás, y es

gran caso, y deve tener algun pensamiento devajo, y le parece que Su Excelencia mande tomar al Auditor figueroa, y lleuarlo al Castillo, y se prendan los esbirros, y luego Su Excelencia los embie á Galera, y que á Petronio se le haga una hortatoria, refiriendole el caso, y que muestre el Priuilegio executoriado, y no mostrándolo, se salga dentro quatro días del Reyno.

ROUTO. Che questo è il maggior caso che sia successo, et potesse mai succedere in questo Regno, essendosi fatto un atto così publico, et dentro l'occhi di S. E., et perciò conuiene che si rimedij ancora publicamente, et che a Petronio, se le faccia una inbasciata in secreto per il Cancelliere Giordano, che fra quattro giorni se ne uada al suo Vescouato; che mentre ci consta che non tiene il exequatur, si faccia subito come ha detto, che lo merita, et che mentre Petronio tiene tanti Consultori et Giudici, li pare che S. E. chiami li Superiori di questi monaci et preti, et le dica che auertano a non interuenire, perchè di altro modo, S. E. farà la dimostratione che conuiene, et in quanto all'Auditore, mentre sta scomunicato, che si mandi in Castello sino ad altro ordine, et in quanto alli sbirri, che se le leuino l'armi, et si informi chi sono, et usciti che sono, carcerarli subito, et darli quattro tratti di corda, et mandarli in galera, et si ordini ancora a tutti li Capitani di giustizia che leuino le armi a tutti li clerici.

SALINAS. Que él no entra en la materia si este Petronio tiene la Autoridad, ó no, que cierto es que todas las materias de Inquisicion están sujetas al Sumo Pontífice, y que se pueden prender, no solo los seglares, pero aun los hijos de los Reyes, y que la Clementina final de Hereticis nos deve poner gran miedo, y que á él en ocho años que estubo en Roma, siempre le decían, que no hauía de traer por exemplo á Francia, ó Alemania, y que todo esto de derecho le pertenece al Sumo Pontífice, y que muchos de los exenplos que trae el señor Abogado fiscal Galeoto son por el Pontífice, y que ellos no son muy curiosos, que si lo fuessen, estos exemplos les aproucharían mucho. Porque en tiempo de aquellos Reyes anti-

guos, siempre fué la Inquisicion, y que en tiempo del Sr. Duque de Alua, que se trató otra uez esta materia, él dixo que forçosamente hemos de alegar costumbre, y prescripcion, y él quiso uer el principio de donde uino el exequatur, y le parece que huuo de ser en tiempo de la gloriosa memoria de Carlos V. de sessenta años á esta parte, y desto haurá nacido el pedir la licencia á los Señores Virreyes, porque el ecclesiastico no pueda inquietar y turbar la juridicion de Su Magestad, y le parece que se defienda la juridicion de Su Magestad, y no puede dudarse, que Su Excelencia ha de defender este honbre, y que él ha de conseruar á Su Magestad la possession en que está, y que siempre que se ha confessado, los confessores le han dicho, que está obligado conseruarle la possession, y que el Auditor figueroa hizo un auto Santissimo sacando á el que estaua preso inocentemente, que por esto concurre que Su Excelencia le libre, ya que tambien lo ha preuenido quitandolo de manos de Faraon, y lo puede embiar á un Castillo, sabiendo esto de Su Santidad, que aunque en la Santa inquisicion hay un Cardenal español, hay muchos Franceses, y Venecianos, y enemigos nuestros, y que á respecto de los honbres que an ido á hazer esta demostracion, se dexten á la Iglesia, y al caso de Monsr. Petronio, lo pensaría mejor, porque si esto es caso que spetta al Pontífice, no se ha de hazer assy de arrebato, y se le haga una hortatoria que no proceda contra el Auditor, y procediendo contra dél, se salga del Reyno, y que tambien no tenga Tribunal.

D. ENRIQUEZ. Que en el tiempo que él tuuo la real juridicion, nunca ha uisto los ecclesiasticos tan desuergonçados como aora, y que en este caso que ha sucedido, no se trata sino de la defension deste Reyno de Su Magestad, que los demás son casos particulares, pero aora se tratta de la conseruacion del Reyno, que conbiene pensarlo con gran fundamento de como hemos de guardar este Reyno de los ecclesiasticos: pues ellos no hazen ni bonatenencias ny fiscales, y hay tantos sujetos al Papa, y en una tierra huuo tanta muchedumbre de clérigos que gritaron, Viua el Papa, Viua el Papa, y que á él le parece, que una uez se haga una grandissima

demostracion, y despues se vaya descalzo á assoluernos, y que él abla con miedo, porque dos días há que se habló de hazer una demostracion por esto de la Inquisicion, y aora embian dos esbirros descalzos á tentarnos. Que no quisiera tener nombre de impío, pero atrauessándose l'autoridad de Su Magestad, y de Su Excelencia, y de la conseruacion deste Reyno, huiendose en quatro casos concluydo, que se hechasse de aquí á Petronio, le parece que se le diga que entre dos días, se uaya á su obispado por esta causa, haziéndole la hortatoria. Porque ó tiene, ó no tiene Petronio l'autoridad, sy no la tiene, no ha hecho bien, si la tiene, no tiene exequatur, ni ha dado noticia á Su Excelencia, y assy no tiene defensa ny excusa ninguna. Y que Su Excelencia defienda al Auditor que le parece mengua que se ponga en un Castillo, y que le puede hazer pasear delante de Palacio, y si quiere, se puede ir á dormir en Castillo, y que á los esbirros, se quiten las armas, y quando salieren las Guardas, estén aduertidas, y los coxan, dándoles quatro tratos de cuerda, y se embien á Galeras, dándose de todo cuenta á Su Magestad.

D. TAPIA. Que estos señores lo han dicho todo, y tambien que no hay más que decir, pero él dirá dos palabras en la materia del Tribunal de la Santa Inquisicion, y que la raçon que tienen menester de pedir el exequatur es más antigua de lo que ha dicho el Sr. Salinas, y que este Tribunal no puede subsistir, porque el Judice ecclesiastico no tiene territorio, y que Su Magestad tiene fundada su intencion y jurisdiccion porque est Dominus Territorij, et territorium dicitur a tenendo, y todos los que uienen á exercer jurisdiccion, ó como obispos, ó como Nuncio, ó como Inquisidor, ó como Visitador, no se la permite aunque se trate cosa entre ecclesiasticos, sin que pidan antes, y se le dé el Regio exequatur (que antiguamente se llamaua brazo) por excusar los encuentros y escándalos que podían suceder quando no le tuuiesse, mas en materia de Inquisicion que es tan esosa¹ en esta ciudad, y los ecclesiasticos pueden ordenar y mandar, pero no executar,

¹Italian, esosa.

y por esto, este Tribunal no puede estar aquí, tanto más haviendo aquí el Ordenario, á quien toca, y que Monsr. Petronio, aunque tuuiera el exequatur, tenía obligacion de dar cuenta á Su Excelencia, y por esto, ha excedido grandemente por todas las circunstancias que se han dicho, y le parece que se le pregunte, en uirtud de que ha hecho esto, y de que exerce esta jurisdiccion. Porque el desterrar y hechar al obispo de Nápoles, como se hauía dicho, era sentenciarle, executar la sentencia, lo que no se podía hazer sin oyrle, y que añadiría que asta tanto que no muestre la facultad que tiene, que no se entremeta en cosa toccante al Santo officio, ny en nada. Y que este hecho es de su natura condenado, y si hay caso en que pueda hechar un obispo, es éste, y á respecto de los cursores, como que este caso está junto con lo antecedente, le parece que estos hombres han excedido, pero no ellos que no tenían obligacion de replicar, pero todauía conbiene darles algun castigo, que será quitarles las armas, y en quanto á figueroa, que se ponga en un Castillo, pues se trata en materia de Inquisicion, que en todas partes suena. Porque de un mal pequeño, no hagamos uno de los mayores. Pues el Papa tiene un assiento que es el mayor del mundo, siendo Vicario de Christo, que por esto se deue de usar del acto prudencial y tambien no dexar que nos quiten la capa, que á él siempre le ha parecido que se deue acudir á Roma, y que de la misma manera tambien hazen en España, y que quando Su Magestad quiere hechar no solo á un Obispo, mas á un frayle, lo hace por medio del Nuncio, ó de su Superior, y que mientras aquí tratamos de condenar y hechar á un Obispo, y que alega ser Inquisidor, le parece que se acuda á Roma, y como decía el señor Regente Ribera, que fué su maestro, siempre se hauía de hazer requerimiento al Papa, y despues hazer lo que conbiene. Que con esto de representar al Papa que lo remedie, no remediandolo, él hechará al Nuncio, al Obispo, y á todos, y que con tratar desta manera, allá en España parecerá muy bien, y Su Excelencia se asegura de no tener ninguna reprehension. Tanto más en los tiempos en que estamos, uiéndose Francia armada y Sauoya de la costancia que se sabe que

qualquier rumpimiento pudiera causar alguna gran rottura y daño al seruicio de Su Magestad, y á la par de Italia. Y assy le parece que se embie á un ministro á Roma de los de la Junta, paraque pueda informar á Su Santidad, assy del derecho que Su Magestad tiene, de que no se prendan legos sin que lo sepan sus Virreyes, como del peligro en que ha puesto esta ciudad Monsr. Petronio, y de lo que puede suceder todas las ueces que esto se hiziere; dándose de todo cuenta á Su Magestad, y al embaxador de Roma, para que él, de su parte, ayude este negocio, siendo la más fuerte ocasion que ha hauido de muchos años á esta parte, para que Su Magestad muestre el valor necessario para la defensa de su Real jurisdicion.

EL SR. VISITADOR GENERAL. Que este negocio es de la grauedad que Su Excelencia sabe, y tiene muchas cosas que considerar, una general que toca al exercicio de la jurisdicion de Monsr. Petronio, y otra particular, en quanto toca á este caso que ha sucedido, que siendo assy como ha dicho el Sr. Marqués de Belmonte, que los obispos no tienen territorio, y que los Reyes catolicos con los muchos priuilegios que tienen de los Pontífices, y por hauer defendido y propagado la fé catolica, y possession inmemorial en que están en muchos casos tocantes á materias ecclesiasticas, justamente defienden que en sus Reynos se reconoscan las Bulas y despachos de Roma, para que no se les haga perjuicio en lo que les pertenece, y que en las Indias y en este Reyno, se acostumbra que en todas las Bulas se pide el exequatur, pero no en Castilla, que quando uienen bulas contra la real juridicion ó Pragmaticas, en hauiendo noticia dellas, se lleuan al consejo, pero si no se hace esta diligencia, no necessitan de exequatur para que se observen, y que el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisicion adonde siete años ha sido Consultor en Granada y Valladolid, cierto es que tiene juridicion contra todos en los casos de la fé, no solo respecto de la Ordinaria que toca á los obispos, syno de la delegada la qual por estar incorporada en el cuerpo del derecho, y ser ya delegacion ordinaria, se admite sin contradiccion por ser en casos y cosas tan importantes, pero no sin noticia y

sabiduría de los príncipes seculares los quales en todos los demás casos y cosas, por medio de sus consejos, examinan las letras Apostolicas en que se concede juridicion delegada, como se usa en este Consejo Collateral, y se hace en los Nuncios. Y en quanto á lo que se ha dicho que por hauer Monsr. Petronio usado desta juridicion, teniendo ministros y familia, se pueda expeler, él lo duda porque por lo que ha hecho asta aquí, no haviéndosele nunca dicho nada, ny prohibido, y ansi tiene por muy dificultoso que se le puede decir que salga del Reyno, ó que se uaya á su Obispado, pues pena por lo que ha hecho, no se puede imponer á un Obispo, no se puede llamar inobediente, mientras asta aora, no se le ha intimado nada. Antes le parece que si estuviera en su Obispado, se pudiera llamar aquí que uiniera á la presencia del príncipe, á dar razon de lo que ha hecho. Pero estando aquí, se le ha de dar la orden, y le parece que con uno destos señores fiscales, se le haga una hortatoria, en que se le diga que muestre letras, y la facultad que tiene para exercitar juridicion, y entretanto, no haga cosa ninguna, ni la exercite, ny tenga Tribunal, ny familia armada, no mostrandolo, y continuando á exercitarla, se procederá contra él conforme al estilo antiguo deste Reyno asta saccarlo dél. Que esto servirá para preuencion de lo venidero, y ajustamiento de lo presente, y assy tambien se le diga que muestre las órdenes y papeles que tiene por este auto particular del Auditor figueroa. Pero en quanto al Auditor, quanto quiera que en los delitos meramente ecclesiasticos, es controuertido, si el Juez ecclesiastico puede prender y castigar á un lego sin implorar el auxilio del braço secular. Y que el hacerse, segun opinion de muchos, se funda en la costumbre, como consta de Couarr. In Practic. c. 10, numero 2º, Bellug. in speculo, rub. y in SS. tratandum, numero 2º, Aufrer, in Clem. 1 de officio ordin. S. conc^{ne} a numero 102. En las causas de la fé, es cosa assentada, que puede por priuilexio especial á ellos concedido por los Sumos Pontífices, á quien en estas toca disponer y ordenar, mas que en otras qualesquiera, como consta del C. Inquisitionis S. prohibemus, y de la Clementina primera de heret. por todos los autores referidos, y generalmente

quantos escriuen en la materia lo apprueuan, y aunque en este Reyno se pretende assentar que hay costumbre en contrario, los exemplos que refiere en su papel el señor Abogado fiscal pueden entenderse que se huuiesse pedido el auxilio de hecho, por ser ansi necessario respecto de las circunstancias del caso y las personas, y no de derecho, y entonces tambien dispone el SS. Prohibemus que se pida y manda á los Príncipes y Jueces seculares que le den. Y llegando á lo indiuidual de figueroa, segun le han affirmado, el obispo le hizo intimar el SS. Prohibemus y la Bula de Protegendis de que él no auisó á ninguno destos señores, que por esto, él está escrupuloso si incurrió el Auditor. Pues el dicho SS. Prohibemus abla claramente en sus finales palabras que le descomulga, y si está insordeciente por un año, le declara por herege. No dexando de decir que aquí se ha assentado una cosa que á él se le ha dicho en contrario, pues no solo no absoluieron al principal en la Inquisicion de Roma, como estos señores han dicho, antes le penitenciaron, y le condenaron en 300 ducados, remitiendo lo demás al obispo que le descomulgó. Que por esto, tomarsela aora con el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisicion de Roma, que es el mayor y supremo de todo el mundo, le parece que se considere muy bien, que Su Excelencia podrá mandar informarse, y que siendo el echo assy, cierto es que hauiendo uenido por el exequatur, aunque fuera su hijo, le huuiera embiado á Roma. Pero no hauiendo venido Petronio por el exequatur, lo que ha hecho, lo haze tamquam priuatus, y haciendolo como tal, Vim facit y procediendo tamquam priuatus, Vim repelere licet, como lo dice muy bien Sesse, en la epistola ad Regem nostrum, in 24 decisione, y aunque por las circunstancias que se han dicho, parece que este Auditor pudiera andar suelto, todauía le parece que se ponga en un Castillo, que con esto, se tratará despues de su causa, y conforme á lo que en ella occurriere, se tomará resolucion. Porque la que tomaron en Roma, no depende de la de acá, que sin poderselo impedir, podrán proceder á declararle por erege presumpto, y condenarle. Y assy conbiene poner la mira en dar á entender en Roma la justificacion deste negocio, y que como ha dicho el

Sr. Marqués de Belmonte, le parece que se embie una persona á Roma que trate la materia y dé cuenta de lo que se hace con Petronio, no hallando inconbeniente en que se acuda á Roma, porque quando se ua á Su Santidad, se ua al Superior, y se le diga que Su Magestad y el consejo no quieren otra cosa sino conseruar y augmentar la religion, y que en esto del Auditor, se puede saluar tambien que no haya impedido ny protexido, pues no lo hizo con esse ánimo, como es notorio, sino que ha errado, pareciéndole ser caso lícito, y comprendido en el mandato de su Superior que con esto se puede ablandar la materia, y le despacharán con alguna aduertencia ligera, conque se acabará este negocio, en el qual conbiene caminar con el tiento, y attencion que por tantas causas es necessario.

Despues de oydo al Señor Visitador, la mayor parte uino que se embie á Jordano con una hortatoria á Monsr. Petronio del tenor que sigue: Que se ponga al Auditor en un Castillo, y que á los esbirros se les quiten las armas, y en saliendo, se auerta de carcerarlos, siendo legos. Que se embie una persona de qualidad á Roma, y que el Señor Regente Lopez tome informacion del caso, acudiéndole el fiscal Mastrilo.

HORTATORIA. Reuerende uirregie, deuote dilecte: a nostra notitia è peruenuto che d'ordine uostro con famiglia armata d'arme di fuoco, prohibite per le regie pramatice di questo presente regno con habito di clerici, sia stato carcerato D. Christophoro Figueroa dentro la chiesa di S. Luiggi sita al incontro del Real Palazzo doue noi habitamo nel corpo di guardia, doue di continuo accudono li trattenuti soldati, et altri ministri militari in tempo che si celebrauano le sante messe et diuini officij con molto scandalo del popolo, et anco pericolo di quelli ch'andorno a far la detta cattura, del che ne auerebbe potuto risultare un gran tumulto in disseruitio della diuina Maestà del Rè nostro signore et di tutta questa città, il che intendiamo, habbiate fatto sotto colore d'essere uoi ministro del santo officio, di che siamo rimasti molto marauigliati, e molto più di non hauerci dato conto, nè di questo che uoleuate fare, nè di essere ministro del santo officio, poichè se uoi lo foste stato, doueuate ricorrere a noi, e dimandare il regio

exequatur, come si deue di ragione, e per antichissima consuetudine di questo regno, e lo fanno tutti li Prelati del Regno, alli quali come giudici ordinarij compete la giurisdittione nelle materie di Santo officio, e come fa ancora il Nuntio di Sua Santità, e si è fatto in questo regno da quelli che hanno hauuta commissione d'esercitare alcuni negotij della Santa Inquisitione, in esso acciò che le cose che tocano alla religione cattolica sianno esercitate con quel decoro e sicurtà che si deue nelli regni di Sua Maestà, da chi e dalli suoi ministri uengono con particolare attentione fauorite et agiutate come si è uisto sempre in tutte le occasioni che sono occorse per difesa della santa fede Cattolica e della fede Apostolica Romana, e perchè potrebbe succedere alcuno scandalo notabile, se per voi si passasse inanzi a dare simili ordini, e conuien'al seruitio di sua Maestà sapere con que titolo et in che forma uoi vi intrometete in queste materie, ci è parso farui la presente con la quale ne dicemo, et exhortamo che fra il termino di tre giorni, debbiatè exhibir auante di noi l'ordini, commissioni, o altra potestà in uirtù della quale exercete giurisdittione in queste materie, acciò uiste, si possa prouedere da noi come conuiene in beneficio della Santa fede Cattolica e della real iurisdittione che tiene Sua Maestà in questo Regno, e che fra tanto, non debbiatè essercitare iurisdittione nessuna, nè tenere congregatione, o tribunale, nè familia armata, nè far altro essercitio, acciò non si turbi la quiete di questa città, e non si faccia pergiuditio alla giurisdittione di Sua Maestà, perchè non facendosi da voi, si pigliaranno quelli rimedij soliti e consueti pigliarsi in casi simili senza expeditione d'altra hortatoria, e non farete lo contrario per quanto desiderate far cosa grata a Sua Maestà, et a noi la presente resti al presentante. Dat. Neap. die 28 mens Januarij 1630. El Duque de Alcala, Vr.; Carolus de Tapia, Regens; Enriquez, Regens; Lopez, Regens; Barrilius, Secretarius. Al Reuerendo Vescouo di Molfetta.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 24-36.

A copy of the hortatoria to Petronio is found in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, Ms. 988, fol. 294-296, and as this

text is more correct than that inserted in the records of the Collaterale, I have copied it here. This hortatoria was published by Dr. H. A. Rennert in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VII, p. 406.

XIII.

CAIBANO. El Duque mi señor dize que V. S. le embie luego una copia de la consulta que se embió á Su Magestad sobre el negocio del Caballero Mariscoti que prendió el Nuncio los días pasados, i se llebó á Roma; y otra copia del monitorio que se ha hecho á Monsr. Petronio, Inquisidor con una relacion de lo que ha passado en el negocio del Auditor figueroa. S. E. lo queda esperando, y assi lo aviso á V. S. Pal. 30 de Henero 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 556, fol. 33.

XIV.

Copia del Breue de Su Santidad al Sr. Duque de Alcalá, virrey de Nápoles sobre la hortatoria fecha á Monsr. Petronio, obispo de Molfetta que presentase la Comision que decía tener en cosas del Santo officio.

Urbanus PP. VIII.

Dilecte fili: Nobilis uir, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Arcem non minus fore regni, quam cœli esse in terris sacrum sancti officij tribunal, arbitrantur catholici Reges qui Austriacæ potentiae principatum acceptum referre solent, sacerdotum cultui, et cœlitum patrocinio, quare qui turrim illam Daudid ædificatam cum angelicarum legionum propugnaculis audent inuadere ij, et contra cœlum creduntur insurgere, et quaterre fundamenta regnorum. Ægre ferimus supra quam dici potest, tam atra labe aspergi hoc tempore, nomen nobilitatis tuæ, quod tum proprijs uirtutibus, tum auitis laudibus clarum fulgere cupimus benedictionibus ecclesiæ. Aboleri plane debet tenebris obliuionis hortatoria illa comminatio, quæ nuper ex aula ista prodijt luctuosa sacerdotibus et laudibus

tuis exitiosa. Venerabilis frater Molfetæ episcopus, quem nos ipsi, et supremus hic sanctæ Inquisitionis Magistratus canonica auctoritate muniuimus, prohibetur nunc Proregis et Collateralis imperio exercere mandatam iurisdictionem in ijs causis in quibus religionis potestas, id est cœli dignitas continetur. Quid hoc monstri est? in expectatis nobilitatis tuæ minis, et nouis prauisque consilijs uiolari in ecclesiastico antistite sacram Pontificiis et sancti officij authoritatem, a mendacio plane quaereret patrocinium temeritati, si quis negare auderet, cœlestem tam authoritatem nulli terrenæ potestati subiectam, libere et palam iam diu uiguisse in isto regno, ubi catholici Reges cupiunt sub Austriaci Dominatus tutela regnare religionem Imperijs salutarem pestilenti populorum exemplo, luctuoso ecclesiæ scandalo noua ista molimina, in oculis totius Italiæ tentari, nemo est qui non videat, Thesauricaris plane tibi iram in die iudicij, commoueri uidereris, odium regis, inuidiam conflares isti magistratui, nisi minacem illam hortatoriam rescindi iubeas, legitimam libertatem sanctæ Inquisitionis ministris relinquens, quæ dum in arbitria animorum dominatur, uidetur etiam præfocare semina seditionum. Quare pro paterna charitate et pro pastoralis officio, monemus te ut salutari, et propria emendatione uelis tanti criminis maculam deleri, cogitans canonicas et Pontificias sanctiones uindices, a quibus graue tibi periculum impendet. Quum certa spe debitum hoc solatium a tua prudentia expectemus, testabitur Nuncius Apostolicus, ei ergo fidem habere poterit nobilitas tua cui benedictionem Pontificiam peramanter impartimur. Datum Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub annulo Piscatoris, die II Februarij, MDCXXX anno, Pontificatus nostri septimo.

Joannes Ciampolus.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 988, fol. 294. Another copy of this brief is also found in the same library, Ms. 1016, fol. 130, and also in the *Archivio di Stato, Naples, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii*, Vol. 18, fol. 42-43b.

XV.

Copia de breue del Papa Urbano VIII para el Sr. Duque de

Alcalá, Virrey de Nápoles, sobre el negocio del Auditor Doctor D. Xpoual Suárez de figueroa.

Dilecte fili: nobilis uir, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ea pietatis fama Regium Magistratum in Neapolitano regno suscepit nobilitas tua ut speraret Italia coeteros Austriacæ potentiæ ministros petere isthinc posse propugnando religionis exempla. Proinde nunquam timuimus fore, ut in urbe nobilissimi Regni Principe Regis uiribus per te læderetur ditio huius tribunalis in quo cum fidei orthodoxæ unitas custodiatur, muniuntur cœlestes aggeres publicæ tranquillitatis. Hinc conicere potes quo doloris vulnere transfixerit viscera Pontificæ charitatis, inopinatus ille nuntius qui nuper significauit Christophorum Figheroam, mandatu tuo ereptum uiolenter esse, a sacrae inquisitionis vinculis. Quod nam dilecte fili, religiosæ ciuitatis oculis spectaculum præbuisse putas, regios satellites gladiis minitabundos, dum sancti huius officii ministros, non solum palam perterrefacere, sed armis etiam spoliare ausi sunt, ut reus e legitimo carcere eductus in eius custodia detineretur, cui nullum ius in causis ad religionem spectantibus. Porro autem qui sapientiæ studiis ingenium excoluisti, scis quid tam graui in negotio ecclesiasticæ ac Pontificiæ sanctiones decernant. Quæ enim ad religionis iura pertinent, ita nos tangunt, qui pro sacerdotij Maiestate vitam deuouere debemus, ut prætermittere non liceat quod ratio suadet, lex iubet et cœlum exigit. Ne patiare, nobilis uir, tam fœdam nomini tuo notam inuri, atque aduersus te excitari, non modo numinis ultionem, sed etiam Regis iram constituentis gloriam potentiæ in defensione fidei et sacerdotij. Quare pro paternæ charitatis, et apostolicæ sollicitudinis officio monere volumus nobilitatem tuam, ut reum læsis sacrae inquisitionis ministris restitui atque eas nouationes reuocari iubeas, quibus est suprema huius sacri tribunalis dictio tam insigniter violata. Hoc a te solatium exigimus, atque etiam speramus, ut regiæ pietatis imitatione eruditus, et nostris dictis excitatus gloriari possis plus Pontificia monita, quam pernitiōsa consilia ualuisse apud nobilitatem tuam, cui Nuntius Apostolicus mentem nostram declarabit, et nos paternam

benedictionem impartimur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Maiorem sub Anulo Piscatoris, die februarij MDCXXX. anno Pontificatus nostri septimo.

Joannes Ciampolus.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Ms. 988, fol. 293. Another copy of this brief is found in the same library, Ms. 1016, fol. 130b, and also in the *Archivio di Stato, Naples, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii*, Vol. 18, fol. 43b-44b. It was published by Dr. H. A. Rennert in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. VII, p. 408.

XVI.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE MARTIS 2^o FEBRUARIJ, 1630.

Se leyeron dos breues que Monsr. Nuncio dió á Su Excelencia hayer tarde del tenor siguiente; then follow the two briefs.

Mastrillo disse che lui hauea preso l'informatione, e constaua benissimo li maltrattamenti fatti all'Auditor figueroa, et facea istanza che si pigliasse quel espediente che un tanto caso ricercaua.

GALEOTO. Che lui uede due Breui, uno toccante alla materia di Inquisitione, et l'altro per Figueroa, et che in quanto a se, le pare che si proceda dimodo che si chiariscano una uolta per sempre, perche d'altro modo, non si fa niente bastandoli adesso allegare il titolo et prouare la possessione, tanto maggiormente che questo Regno si tiene dalla chiesa, che perciò si presume che di molte cose che S. Maestà ne sta in possessione l'habbia per concessione della chiesa, et se si introduce questo, che per pretesto di Santo officio, si possano carcerare laici, è persa in tutto la Giuridittione di S. Maestà, et che in materia di Santo officio, si deue dimandare l'exequatur conforme se ne sta in antichissima possessione, il che dipende anchora dalla lege canonica come nel C. si quando de rescriptis, ne ex rescripto sequatur iniuria et uioletur pax publica: che perciò supplica S. E. che si mandasse subito a Roma persona

ad informare Sua Santità, et che mentre in questo negotio s'era cominciato, supplicaua S. E. a continuare; and they discuss at length the power of Petronio and the reply which they should make to the Pope's two briefs.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 42-45b.

XVII.

CAIBANO. El Duque mi Sr. dize que V. S. le embie la nota de los testigos que sabe se hallaron en la prision de don Christóval Figueroa que V. S. ha dicho á S. E. y que sea luego.

Palacio 5 de hebrero 1630. Y embiame V. S. una relacion de todo este suceso para ordenar las cartas.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 555, fol. 125b. *Cancelleria*, No. 17.

XVIII.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE SABATI IX FEBRUARIJ, 1630.

Dni. Regentes Tapia, Enriquez, Dns. Lopez absente. Su Excelencia mandó tener Junta de Juridicion por la mañana con su interuencion, y vinieron el señor D. francisco Antonio de Alarcon, Visitador General, y los consejeros Rouito, Salinas, Salgado, Zufia, de Ocampo, Casanate, y Corchon.

Se leyeron de nuevo los dos breues en presencia de Su Excelencia, y se dixo que hauiendo Su Santidad hecho tan grande sentimiento de cosa tan justa de nuestra parte, deue de hauer algo debaxo, y que esto no fuera sino introducir suauemente que se tomasse el Papa este Reyno, y que se le responda de la manera que está apuntado, y se embie persona á Roma. La respuesta de los Breues es la siguiente, y la hiço el señor D. Francisco Antonio de Alarcon.

Beatissimo Padre.¹

Hauiendo sucedido el Viernes 25 del mes de Enero pasado,

¹This reply to the Pope is also found in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Madrid, Mss. 988, fol. 296, and 1016, fol. 132.

un gran alboroto y escándalo mouido por cantidad de ministros que de echo en la iglesia de St. Luis, conuento de religiosos de la órden de St. Francisco de Paula, prendieron al Auditor Don Christóual de Figueroa en frente del Palacio Real donde ordinariamente resido, y casi en mi presencia, en medio de compañía de soldados, i de cuerpo de guardia, sin noticia ni sabiduría mía, que quando no por otra raçon deuiera preceder en aquella occasion para evitar las muertes y tumultos que ella misma trahía consigo, i pidiendo por estas raçones la demostracion necessaria para que otra uez con maior atencion se cuidasse de no perturbar una ciudad tan populosa como ésta, y con ella todo el Reyno, porque oido acaso, i de gente de tan poca suerte como los executores de este exceso, entendí anteponian el mandato de V. B. i órden de la Inquisicion, tuue por bien templarme y dissimular, contentándome solo con no consentir que aquella violencia pasasse adelante, sino que el Auditor Figueroa se detuuiesse preso en Castelnouuo hasta que informado de todo, S. B. se siruiesse de disponer el negocio como fuesse más conueniente, i que los ministros se desarmasen de las armas prohibidas que lleuauan sin poderlo hacer, no hauiendo cosa por donde les fuesse lícito, por no ser familia de juridicion conocida, y quando para dar á V. B. quenta de todo esto, con el respecto deuido, se estaua preuiniendo persona que informada de lo que en semejantes casos se a hecho otras ueces, i lo que en éste ha sucedido, lo representara á V. B. y mi obseruancia y promptitud á su seruicio, el Nuncio de V. B. lunes 4 déste, me dió en su nombre dos breues receuidos de mí con toda reuerencia, en uno de los quales V. B. me amonesta que se reuoque cierta hortatoria que se a hecho por órden del Consejo Colateral á Monsr. Petronio, Obispo de Molfetta, y en el otro que el Auditor Figueroa se le entregue, poniendo las cosas en el estado que tenían antes que se procediesse en hacer la hortatoria, ni á quitarle á los ministros que le prendieron. Y porque la justicia está depositada en el pecho de V. B., i á éste pertenece admitir la súplica que se le hiciere, en órden á que informado mexor del hecho, prouea V. B. como de sus

entrañas piadosas, i benignidad espero, con la licencia que me dan los sacros canones y la humildad que deuo, supplico á V. B. mande considerar que en quanto á el primer breue, tocante á la hortatoria hecha al Reuerendo Obispo de Molfeta, por las razones que en él se refieren, parece que no se a hecho á V. B. relacion entera del caso porque no se le ha prohibido que use de la juridicion que tuuiere de V. B. i de la Santa Inquisicion, sino solamente que muestre si la tiene, i entretanto que no exercite ninguna. Siendo assí claro y euidente que no cae prohibicion donde se presuppone que no ay potestad, i toda la hortatoria se encamina á sauer si la tiene, como della misma consta, y para que mexor le conste á V. B. se le remite, i las razones de hecho i de derecho que en ella se proponen, justifican que no es nueua en el modo ni excede de lo que á Su Magestad Cattolica como á supremo Príncipe le pertenece, ni contradice á las disposiciones de derecho, antes se conforma con ellas, y ultimamente guarda la modestia que en los Ministros de su Magestad es ordinaria y propria quando se atrauiessa el respecto de la Santa Iglesia, porque quanto quiera que á V. B. pertenece disponer de las materias i juridicion ecclesiastica como á Vicario de Christo i cabeça de su iglesia, i con maior raçon en las tocantes á la fée en este Reyno por priuilegios antiguos de la santa sede confirmados con transcurso de tiempo immemorial i possession inconcussa, quando se ha embiado persona, ó cometido á alguno que la execute, no se ha hecho sin sabiduría i consentimiento de sus Príncipes quando en él residian, i despues de los que en su lugar le han gouernado i con justissimas causas ya por el respecto que se deue á la Santa Sede, conseruándose en que sin comision suya bastante, no se use de juridicion, lo qual puede acontecer en muchos casos si no se preuiniesse i tuuiesse dello noticia. Ya por el decoro i preeminencia de la Jurisdicion ecclesiastica ordinaria, á quien el Santo Concilio de Trento concede tantas prorogatiuas cuos conseruadores por beneficio del mismo concilio son los Reyes y príncipes, ya porque no se derogue sin sabiduría de la Santa Sede á los priuilegios que della goça Su Magestad

Cattolica, pues se sabe que su intencion es de no perjudicarle, antes de concederselos cada día maiores, como lo son sus méritos, i de todos sus vasallos en su seruicio. Assí que no se ha excedido en pedir al Reuerendo Obispo de Molfeta muestre la comision que pretende tener para executar jurisdiccion en materia de Inquisicion, pues sin ella usándola, el agrauio sería de la Santa Sede, de quien depende y del Arçobispo desta Ciudad á quien toca y con ella no se puede dudar que en mí y en todos los ministros de su Magestad, hallaría no solo buena acogida y execucion sino particular proteccion, auxilio i amparo para todo lo necessario en órden á que se cumpliessen mejor los mandatos de V. B. y su mexor seruicio del ministerio del Santo officio de la Inquisicion, el qual en todos los Reynos de su Magestad se uenera y respeta como en todo el mundo es notorio, siendo el Príncipe que con maior cuidado, zelo i uigilancia, conserua en ellos la pureça de nuestra santa fée, hauiendo para ello concedido á sus tribunales muchos priuilegios, i aumentando cada día maiores gracias, y lo mismo se ha experimentado en este Reyno quando en casos particulares que en discurso de las edades i tiempos an sucedido, los summos Pontífices antecessores de V. B. an cometido la execucion de alguna cosa del Santo officio que siempre an tenido para ello prompto el abrigo i socorro de la Juridiccion secular, con el qual an surtido el deuido effecto con satisfacion y gracia de los mismos summos Pontífices, i supuesto que mi intencion es continuar la misma obseruancia i obediencia, facilmente me persuado á que V. B. por su benignidad y clemencia, continuará tambien en lo que a acostumbrado essa Santa Sede en no permitir que se introduzgan cosas nuevas sin utilidad ninguna, i con tantos inconuenientes como de lo contrario se representan maiormente si como a comenzado á diuulgarse, se entiende en esta ciudad y Reyno que en él se planta tribunal de Inquisicion, y ay persona que se llama Inquisidor, y tiene consultores y otros ministros, lo qual si bien en tiempos pasados lo desseó i procuró introducir Su Magestad Cattolica como lo está en toda España, Sicilia y las Indias, no pudo conseguirse i solo por algunas sospechas de que se trataua dello,

siendo Virrey de este Reyno Don Pedro de Toledo, sucedieron los tumultos que son bien notorios, y así en este caso, i en caso de que depende la paz publica y la conseruacion de este Reyno de su Magestad, quando las raçones que á V. B. represento no fueran tan efficaces, yo no pudiera tomar resolucion ninguna sin órden expressa de su Magestad, á quien he dado quenta de todo i de quien esperaré la respuesta, pues no contradice al respeto y obediencia que todos á V. B. deuemos, y yo particularmente le professo.

En quanto á lo contenido en el segundo breue, con la misma reuerencia y respeto, suplico á V. B. se digne de considerar que como he referido, la occasion del tumulto y escándalo, i de muchas muertes i alboroto quizá nunca uisto en tiempo de paz en esta ciudad, se dió por los ministros que sin saberse cuios fuessen, cargados de armas de fuego prohibidas en una iglesia, en día solemne en ella, en medio de compañías y cuerpo de guardia, enfrente de Palacio, sin sabiduría mía ni de ningun official Regio, prendieron y maltrataron al Auditor figueroa de manera que si yo no me hallara tan cerca, y con summo cuidado i uigilancia sossegara el tumulto, i apagara las centellas que començauan á prenderse, sucediera un grauissimo incendio sin que despues pudiera atajarse. Y así se uee que no los ministros de su Magestad, sino los que hicieron la prision fueron los que ocasionauan tantos daños si no se preuiniera, y merecían más seuera demostracion, si no la omitiera por lo mucho que deseo en todas ocasiones mostrar con quanto affecto, con quanta sumission uenero solo la imaginacion de que se pueda atrauesar el nombre de V. B., de cuio mandato para este caso, nunca me ha constado de que la causa de este Auditor se tuuiesse por de Inquisicion, quanto quiera que oya que se hablaua en ello, porque si ubiera llegado á mi noticia legitimamente, ubiera obedecido como agora lo he hecho, y entregadole al Reuerendo Nuncio de V. B. para que pudiesse estar siempre prompto á la obediencia y execucion de lo que V. B. dispusiesse, no se libró ni soltó, sino detuuu preso esperando la resolucion que V. B. tomara, á quien suplico tenga por bien de cometerla al Reuerendo Nuncio, pues de los

principios que tuuo notorios en este Reyno, se conoce que justamente se espera esta gracia de V. B. de cuiu summa piedad confio i del affecto con que mira las cosas de Su Magestad como de hijo tan obediente él y todos sus vasallos de la santa sede, y que consumen sus patrimonios i hacienda en defensa de nuestra sagrada religion que conocida la uerdad de lo que ha passado, i promptitud á su obediencia, se inclinará V. B. á conceder lo que le suplico.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 51b-59.

XIX.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE MARTIS XII FEBRUARIJ, 1630.

Dni. Regentes Tapia, Enriquez. S. E. presente. Vino el señor visitador general, y abló en lo del Auditor figueroa, y dixo, Que el caso es de tan grande consideracion, que todo el cuydado que Su Excelencia ponga en ello lo ha de menester, y que aunque él ha uisto muchos destos señores de la Junta muy animosos, todauía le parece que no nos enpeñemos tanto que no podamos salir quando queramos, que al fin hemos de andar á parar á sus pies, y lo que dicen estos señores de lo de España es muy diferente de lo de acá. Y que él se ha uisto con el Nuncio en los descalzos, y se ha trattado de algun medio y parte de los dos puntos, primero de la hortatoria de Petronio, 2^o de la prision de figueroa, y lo más principal que se ha de ajustar es lo que dicen, que desde el año 1585 los Pontífices han siempre tenido unos Inquisidores, y ha sido á istancia de los ministros de Su Magestad con ocasion que los Obispos molestauan los vasallos de Su Magestad por causa de Inquisicion, y porque era mucho trabajo y tenían mucha molestia de ir á Roma á pedir justicia, Su Santidad concedió facultad á los dichos Inquisidores de pedir los processos á los obispos, de alargar la cárcel á los presos, y que de todo diessen cuenta á Roma, y que en quanto á Petronio, el señor Duque de Alua siempre le hauía conocido por Inquisidor, como lo hauían con-

ocido tambien estos señores Regentes, haviéndole embiado muchas enbaxadas de sus partes, y que Petronio no quería alargar un dedo de lo que ha tenido, ni tener familia armada, ny cárceles. Y haviéndole pedido qué facultad tenía Petronio, le respondió que tenía una carta de Melino que proceda á instancia de los Ministros de Su Magestad quando se agrauiauan de los obispos, conforme á las istruciones que decía que no tenía. Y tambien procediesse á instancia de partes quando se quexauan de los obispos, y quando hauía alguna denuncia, se auisare á Roma. Y esto en quanto á Petronio.

Llegóse al caso particular de figueroa, y luego á los auxilios de sacar los vassallos de Su Magestad del Reyno y que se le hauía dado comision de Su Santidad, y que el breue de Su Santidad presuppone que se ha impedido lo que ha ordenado, y que se deue todo reintegrar in pristinum, y que el Nuncio se contenta que el Auditor figueroa se presente en las cárceles del Sr. Cardenal y que él y el Cardenal supplicarán á Su Santidad que se quede aquí, y que de dar palabra en fuera, que no la pueden dar, todo lo demás harán. Y dixo tambien que le parecía que no se saquen los vassallos de Su Magestad del Reyno, y que enbiarán al Padre flaminio á Roma á supplicarselo á Su Santidad, quedándose esta orden ó istrucion, ó publica, ó secreta, se adelantará mucho el seruicio de Su Magestad. Y haviéndole representado que se absoluiesen los soldados que fueron á soltar á figueroa, él respondió que con esto se destruya todo, y que se hauía contentado que no se ablasse en ello, syno dexarlo en sus conciencias. Los señores regentes dixeron que lo que se hauía de assentar era Primero, de saber las personas que han de exercer juridicion, y lo 2º que no se pueden extraher los vassallos de su Magestad del Reyno, que no era bien que debaxo desta capa de la Inquisicion, los Prelados hagan lo que quieren, ya que con esta tinta han tinto á muchos. Y que se ha de considerar tambien que con esto, se pone miedo á los ministros de Su Magestad, que no se hallará quien obedesca las órdenes de Su Excelencia, ny de Su Magestad, temiendo que les llamen á Roma. Y que se ha de aduertir tambien que debaxo desta capa de Inquisicion,

pueden conprehender los casos mistos, que por esto, conbiene tener noticia quando quieren alguno por esta causa de Inquisicion. Y en quanto toca á Figueroa, se entregue en las cárceles del Arçobispado que Su Excelencia ganará mucho en Roma, y no se perjudica á la juridicion de Su Magestad, entregándole á Petronio, y con esto se justifica lo antecedente y lo sussequente, se concluyó, Que se entregue en las cárceles del Cardenal el Auditor figuroa de orden de Su Excelencia por cosas tocantes al Santo officio, y en las otras diligencias, tratte el Sr. D. francisco con Monsr. Nuncio quanto más puede, procurando de asegurarse que no sacarán al Auditor figuroa del Reyno. Que se traygan las cosas y las instrucciones que Monsr. Petronio dice tener del Cardenal Melini, que por parte de los Ministros de Su Magestad, se ha pedido una persona, á quien se pueda tener recurso de los agrauios que hazen los obispos, y que los demás legos que fueren notados en el Santo officio, no se saque del Reyno, y quando será alguna causa graue, se dé noticia á Su Excelencia.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 59-61b.

XX.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE JOVIS XIV FEBRUARIJ, 1630.

Dni. Regentes Tapia, Enriquez, et Lopez. Su Excelencia presente.

Vino el señor Visitador general, y dixo que se hauía uisto otra uez con Monsr. Nuncio, y que en quanto al consiñar á figuroa en las cárceles del Sr. Cardenal, á él le parecía se consiñasse en las suyas, para que uiniendo algun órden de Roma, lo pueda auisar, que si estubiera en las cárceles del Cardenal, y fuesse ordenado algo de Roma, él no pudiera hazer nada. Pero estando en sus manos, siempre podrá hazer buenos officios.

2º. que la hortatoria se embie á Su Santidad.

3º. Que el Inquisidor ha escritto en Roma, que se embie

aquí la copia de la carta escrita de la sagrada Congregacion del Santo officio á Monsr. de Nochera á istancia de los Regios por beneficio de los vassallos de Su Magestad porque aquí se haze grande istancia para uerla por los ministros de Su Magestad y se espera lo que mandará la sagrada Congregacion.

4°. Que se restituyan las armas á la familia del señor Cardenal.

5°. Que el sargente mayor, con todo secreto possible, se uea con Monsr. Petronio en el lugar que le pareciere más conbeniente, y le diga que si acaso huuiesse incurrido en alguna censura por hauer sacado al Dr. figueroa de manos de los ministros que le tenían á S. Luys, le haga uenir la asolucion, por sy y sus compañeros.

6°. Que no impida el exercicio de la Juridicion á Monsr. Petronio. Se resoluió.

En el primer punto, que se entregue figueroa en las cárceles de Monsr. Nuncio, por hauerle pedido Su Santidad por la Inquisicion.

2°. La hortatoria restituyéndola se embiará con la carta que se responde, ó la embien ellos.

3°. En el tercero, está bien que quando uiniere, se tomara la resolucion que conbenga.

4°. Que por ser familia del Sr. Cardenal, Su Excelencia mandara boluerseles las armas.

5°. A lo del sargente mayor, se tomará la resolucion que conbenga.

6°. Acerca de no impedir la juridicion de Petronio, que no inoue nada y particularmente no se intrometta con legos, que no se le permittirá. Y que vaya Jordano, y diga que le consiñe al Dr. figueroa por hauerle pedido Su Santidad por el Santo officio de la Inquisicion, y lo entregue en nombre de Su Santidad, y assy se executó.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 62-63.

XXI.

SECRETARIO DEL REYNO EN 20 DE FEBRERO 1630.

El Duque mi Sr. me ha mandado remitir á V. S. los papeles que van con éste, que son, el Proceso que se ha hecho sobre la prision del Auditor Figueroa, la nota de la carta que se ha de escribir á Su Santidad, una relacion de todo este caso desde la prision de francisco Stantione, unos apuntamientos del Presidente Corchon sobre lo mismo, la Bula del Papa Julio tercero con un capítulo de la historia de la Religion de los Padres clerigos regulares, y un sumario que embió el Presidente Salinas de lo resuelto en la Junta en los más de los casos pasados para que V. S. los junte con los demás que han de ir á Roma, i á la Corte, i biéndose con el Consejero Carleval, le entere en todo el caso, i le diga V. S. se uea con el Sr. Visitador, i los señores Regentes del Colateral que brebemente se hará capaz de todo, i podrá partirse á Roma sin dilatarlo más como conviene. Palacio.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Biglietti de Vicerè, No. 39, fol. 11b.

XXII.

SECRETARIO DEL REYNO 27 DE FEBRERO 1630.

El Duque mi Sr. me ha mandado aquerde á V. S. que sin más dilacion, mande embiar á S. E. todos los papeles deste particular de figueroa que han de ir á Roma, i á España que la dilacion va descubriendo ya muchos inconvenientes. Tambien dize S. E. que V. S. haga que se execute luego lo acordado acerca de las delegaciones, y que avise V. S. á S. E. la razon porque esto se detiene. Palacio.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Biglietti de Vicerè, Vol. 39, fol. 12b.

XXIII.

Al Dor. francisco Castaldo.

El Dor D. Christóbal Xuárez de Figueroa está preso en las cárceles del Nuncio por cosas tocantes al santo oficio, y porque

no tiene quien defienda su causa, ha hecho instancia al Duque mi Sr. fuese servido de encargar á algun abogado que acuda á ella, y por la buena relacion que S. E. tiene de la persona de V. S. le ha nombrado para el dicho efecto, y assí dize que V. S. tome á su cargo la defensa de la dicha causa, y le asista con el cuidado y afecto que se requiere, de manera que se le luzga el patrocinio de V. S. y su Justicia tenga el lugar que se le deue. Palacio 7 de Agosto 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 125. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXIV.

SECRETARIO HERRERA, 4 DE SETEMBRE 1630.

El Duque mi Sr. dize que Vm. le hable de esse memorial de Don Xpoual Xuárez de figueroa en que pide se le dé ayuda de costa para socorro de la necesidad que padeze. Palacio.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 134. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXV.

CAUSAS DE INQUISICION.

Contro.

Cristoforo figheroa Uditore allora della Regia Udienda in Catanzaro, inquisito di auer estratto a uiua forza dalle carceri di Nicotera francesco Antonio Stantione, Reo del Santo Ufizio.

Questo francesco Antonio Stantione fu carcerato diginbre 1627, perchè essendo esattore del Monte della Pietà di Napoli, eseguiua contro i beni de' chierici, fu quattro uolte scomunicato, et era indiziato di auer sparlato delle censure, dicendo che non le stimaua, e che allora mangiaua con più appetito quando era scomunicato, che staua meglio scomunicato che prima, che non ostante le dette scomuniche, uoleua andare in chiesa e sentir messa, diceua che haueua dietro il Vescouo e la sua mitra.

Carcerato dal Vescouo, confessò essere stato scomunicato

più uolte per hauer 'preso in esecutione beni de' chierici, negando però le oblocuzioni (*sic*), ma solo che diceua che non ostante dette scomuniche pur era uiuo, mentre era alle difese.

Stando il processo in questo stato, il fiscale episcopale espose giudicato che detto Stantione si uantaua che saria scarcerato dal Commissario Regio che uerrebbe, perciò ei fece istanza che si provvedesse.

Giunto il figheroa in Nicotera, e sentito ch'egli lo uoleua estrarre dalle carceri, il Vescouo li fece intimare un Monitorio, nel quale in sostanza si contiene, che tiene carcerato lo Stantione per causa di Santo Ufizio, che però auendo auuto notizia che si vanta di estrarrlo a forza dalle carceri, li significa di nuouo che è ritenuto per il Santo Ufizio, e li ordina che sotto le pene e censure dei Sagri Canonici et signanter della Bolla di Pio Quinto, si de protegendis, debba desistere, e non andare a inuadere le carceri, altrimenti facendo, lo dichiara, eo ipso, incorso in dette pene, et in specie di detta Bolla si de protegendis. L'istesso giorno, il medesimo Vescouo nelle sue stanze coram Notario et testibus, notificò il detto Monitorio e le cose contenute in esso al detto figheroa de uerbo ad uerbum uulgari sermone ipso presente et audiente, alle quali cose rispose il detto figheroa in lingua uolgare cosi, Non occorre monitorio citarmi piu, nè più scomuniche, né monitorij, perchè li ho inteso bene, ma deuo eseguire l'ordine Regio, che ho di Napoli, mi piglierò francesco Stantione, e quando non mi si darà bonamente, me lo piglierò auctoritate propria, e si partì, conuocò il Battaglione, e gente armata, al quale fu anco notificato detto Monitorio. Di questo discorso passato tra il Vescouo et il figheroa, e della notificazione fattali del Monitorio, oltre il Notario che ne fa fede, ui sono li detti di tre testimonij, che furono presenti, li quali sono contesti. Partito di lì, il figheroa andò con tamburo e gente armata alle carceri con accette, archibugi, e mazze ferrate, e perchè ruppe quattro porte, e leuò di carcere detto Stantione, fu fatto il Visum et repertum, e furono trouate spezzate quattro porte, per le quali, prima d'arriuare al prigioniero, bisognaua

passare, e furono esaminati dieci testimonij contesti de uisu sopra detta uiolenza, e dui dicono che si gridaua, Viua il Rè, e muora il mal gouerno. Altri testimonij depongono di auer ueduto libero detto Stantione e passeggiare in Monteleone.

Si procurò per mezzo del Nunzio che si riducesse l'estratto alle carceri, e che si procedesse contro il figheroa. Dopo molti ufizi passati, fu detto Stantione da Regij carcerato nella Vicaria, d'onde dopo molti giorni, fu consegnato al Nuntio, doue fu riceuuto per il Santo Ufizio, e poi trasmesso di notte con una feluca a Roma.

Doue costituito sopra la sua estrazione, confessò che il figheroa con il battaglione, et armata manu, lo estrasse, ruppe le porte. Proposta però la sua causa, fu fatto decreto che douesse andare a Nicotera, e quel Vescouo lo douesse pubblicamente assoluere dalle censure, e che la carcere douesse cedere in pena, e douesse dare sicurtà de adimplendo pta. come dopo molte difficoltà fece, essendo andato colà, et ottenuto pubblicamente il beneficio della assoluzione.

Essendosi poi per un anno e più passati molti ufizj, perchè detto figheroa douesse ubbidire e uenire a Roma, furono tutti vani, non ostante che si fusse lasciata intendere questa sag. congregazione che si saria proceduto con piaceuolezza, e che si contentaua che uenisse con sicurtà, anzi che uenendo, se li saria assegnato un conuento per carcere, e di più ordinato al Vescouo di Molfetta, che comparando auanti di lui, lo ritenesse carcerato in un conuento con sicurtà. Poi fu scritto più uolte che procurasse la cattura lontano dai quartieri de Spagnuoli, e quando quella poteua seguire senza strepito. Ma egli non ubbidì mai, anzi perchè s'intese che il Duca d'Alua douea partire da quel Gouerno, quale uoleua che detto figheroa ubbidisse, questo si nascose, nè uedendosi, fu per monitorio citato a Roma, et eseguito per affixionem et anco poi personalmente.

Con il Duca d'Alcalá passati nuouì ufizj, rispose a Monsr. Nunzio che concorreu a prontezza perchè si eseguissero gli ordini della sag. Congregazione. In luogo di questo, s'intese che era stato fatto Giudice di Capua, ma per ragioni motivate di quà, la cosa no passò più oltre, stando il negozio in questo stato, mentre s'andaua tracciando di auere il Reo nelle mani.

A 25 di Gennaro prossimamente fu ueduto il figheroa nella chiesa di S. Luigi uicino al Palazzo del Vicerè, e la mattina fu carcerato in detta chiesa, et arrestato nel conuento pro carcere. La notte seguente fu con uiolenza dalla soldatesca estratto, disarmati li custodi, e condotto in Castel Nuouo, e poco dopo eseguita l'ortatoria contro del Ministro del Santo Ufizio.

Fu data al Tribunale la douuta sodisfazione, essendo stato rimesso il carcerato a Monsr. Nuntio, perchè lo tenesse a disposizione di Nostro Signore, e fu riceuuto per il Santo Ufizio. L'ortatoria fu mandata a Roma, e ui è la lettera del Vicerè che dichiara auer mandato l'originale.

Il Reo nelle carceri della Nunziatura è stato più uolte costuito dal Vescouo di Molfetta.

Nel primiero Costituto, dice essere d'anni 50; esser stato carcerato nella chiesa di S. Luigi da alcuni cursori, che poi intesi esser del Santo Ufizio, doppo da una moltitudine di Spagnuoli, fui condotto in Castel Nuouo doue stetti 17 giorni, d'onde fui condotto da un scriuano Regio in queste carceri della Nunziatura.

Credo d'esser stato carcerato, perchè essendo stato citato a comparir auanti di V.S. et anco con monitorio a Roma, io non ubbidij; et è la ragione, perchè mi fu fatto precetto in Scriptis sotto pena della uita che non douessi partir da Napoli, et ore tenus che non comparissi auanti di V.S., qual' ordine datomi in scriptis lo presenterò. La causa poi per la quale fui citato per il Santo Ufizio, come lessi nel Monitorio, era perchè io aueuo estratto e scarcerato dalle carceri vescouali di Nicotera un certo francesco Antonio Stantione, che staua per causa di Santo Ufizio, et io dirò la uerità ancorchè ci uada la testa. Il fatto sta così. Io in quel tempo ero Uditore della Regia Udiienza in Calabria, et furono in detta Regia Udiienza presentati alcuni ordini del Signore Duca d'Alua, e con essi, alcuni cedolini di scomuniche publicate dal Vescouo di Nicotera contro francesco Antonio Stantione, detti ordini conteneuano che fusse scarcerato detto Stantione, comisario del Monte della Pietà douunque si fusse trouato, e particolarmente dalle carceri

vescouali di Nicotera, e che se li facesse precetto, sotto pena di mille ducati di presentarsi in Collaterale; in detta Regia Udienza fu concluso che douessi io andare a eseguire gl'ordini, come ui andai, e prima feci sapere al vescouo per mezzo di uno di Casa Soprano, che spedisse detto Stantione per le cause che lui diceua tenerlo, perchè così non hauerei fatto quello che doueua fare per ubbidire, ma non uedendosene effetto, facendo lo Stantione istanza, perchè diceua che si moriua in dette carceri, andai a far riuerenza al Vescouo, li dissi l'ordine che aueua, e quello che ero per fare, che però lo spedisse. Quel Vescouo senza rispondermi a quello che li diceua, si alterò, e si alzò dalla sedia, e si partì di camera, dicendo, Non m'intrico in questo, et io mi partij. Il giorno seguente mi fu detto che il detto vescouo si era lasciato intendere, che se non fussi io andato in Nicotera, l'aurebbe spedito, perchè la causa, per la quale staua carcerato lo Stantione, non era molto graue. Io li feci sapere che quando il negozio auesse portato dilazione di 3 o 4 giorni, haurei aspettato. Ma poi mi riportò che il vescouo non uoleua far niente, se io non partiuo dalla città. Questo che trattò fu un Prete di 50 anni, che non so chi sia; onde mi risoluei di dar ordine che si scassassero le carceri, et di andare di persona a dette carceri, come in effetto ui andai, e furono scassate da miei soldati, assistendoui li soldati del battaglione con archibugi, et armi in aste, e tamburi, e scassate, dette carceri con instrumenti atti a questo effetto, fu estratto, e lo menai a casa mia carcerato, al quale poi feci l'ordine di presentarsi in Napoli al Collaterale, dicendo di più che detto Stantione era in modo affamato che bisognò che lo ritenessi di mangiare acciò non si morisse.

INT. Si ei fuerit dictum ob quam causam retinebatur carceratus dictus Stantionus.

RIT. Non mi raccordo se il Vescouo mi dicesse che era per causa di Santo Ufizio, potria essere che me l'hauesse detto. Deinde dixit, è certo che il Vescouo non mi disse la causa della carcerazione dello Stantione, può ben'essere che mi hauesse detto che lo tenea per causa di Santo Ufizio, ma perchè egli si partì di Camera, a mala pena hebbi tempo d'intendere quello

che diceua. È ben uero che da quel Prete che andaua e tornaua, mi fu detto che lo Stantione era carcerato per causa di Santo Ufizio, ma per causa leggiera. Il medesimo Prete teneua un foglio di carta stampata in mano, e mi disse che quella era la Bolla si de protegendis, e che se io estraueo detto carcerato, incorreuo nelle censure fulminate in detta Bolla, quale non lessi, et io dissi, bisogna che faccia quello che mi si comanda da superiori.

Et monitus ut bene recorderetur an uere ab episcopo fuerit ei dictum, Stantionum retineri nomine Sancti officij, et monitus ne auderet ob id accedere ad carceres. Respondit, Può essere che me lo dicesse che lo teneua per il Santo Ufizio, ma non me lo raccordo bene; che si alterò, e disse, non me ne intrico, e può essere che allora dicesse, questo è carcerato per il Santo Ufizio, ben è uero che detto Prete mi disse che era lo Stantione carcerato per il Santo Ufizio, mi mostrò la Bolla, e mi auuertì che non lo scarcerassi sotto le pene e censure di essa Bolla, ma per auere io gl'ordini, non potei far di meno.

Ad obiectiones che detto Vescouo gl'intimò il Monitorio, respondit, Non mi raccordo nè so, nè mi posso imaginare, che quando parlai con detto Vescouo, m'intimasse o facesse intimare detto Monitorio. Dettoli che non solum pta. sunt uera, ma ch'egli replicò che l'aueria preso auctoritate propria. Respondit, Non è uero, perchè andai per ordine del Vicerè, e doueuo ubbidire come ministro. Quando furono scassate le porte, io non uiddi fare ordine alcuno. Un soldato però mi disse che era uenuto un cursore con un campanello, ma da un' altro soldato gli fu levata la campanella, quale io hebbi, e la diedi al maestrogiurato perchè la restituisse a Monsignore. Io non so se si publicasse ordine alcuno, è uero che doppo detta estrazione, mi fu detto che detto Vescouo haueua fatto porre li cedolini alla porta della città. Quando mi fu data la Bolla si de protegendis da quel Prete, io non ebbi tempo di leggerla, nè so come detto Prete si chiami. Ad alias obiectiones, mi rimetto a quello che ho detto di sopra, nè mi raccordo altro, può essere tutto quello che mi si dice, che mi fusse stata detta qualche altra cosa, ma non l'aurò intesa.

Ad obiectionem, che nell'ordine Regio, non se li ordine che lo douesse scarcerare, ancorchè fusse carcerato di Santo Ufizio, come dunque abbia ardito di scarcerarlo, costandoli che era ritenuto per causa di Santo Ufizio, che però non si può scusare con detto ordine, e doueua replicare al Collaterale la causa, conoscendo che l'ordine era surettizio. Respondit, Io doueua ubbidire, nè era peso mio di esaminare la causa onde si era mosso il Collaterale a dare tal ordine, perchè mi si ordinaua che scarcerassi detto Stantione, nè è solito replicarsi alli Superiori.

L'ordine regio è, che essendosi inteso che detto Stantione, Commissario Regio sia stato carcerato dal Vescouo, e sia malamente trattato, si debba trasferir colà, e far scarcerare subito detto Stantione, informandosi della causa che ha mosso il Vescouo a carcerare detto Commissario.

Detto figheroa rispose al Vicerè dopo di auer eseguito, e fra le altre cose, dice di auer parlato con detto Vescouo, quale si alterò allegando lo tenia preso con titolo d'Inquisitione, recusando conceder lo que le pedia, onde fu forzoso romper sus carceres, y sacar dellas el preso.

Interrogavit, sopra quei che estrassero esso Reo dalla chiesa di S. Luigi, dice che entrorno alcuni soldati, quali non conosce, e che li dissero che douesse andar con loro, mi menorno in Castillo, non dicendomi con che auttorità mi estraevano.

Interrogavit, se l'ordine di non partire di Napoli li fusse fatto auanti, o dopo eseguito il monitorio di uenir a Roma.

Respondit, che di Aprile del 1629 li fu fatto ore tenus un precetto di non partire, ma dopo eseguito il monitorio, perchè uoleua ubbidire, lo disse ai Regij, da quali gli fu fatto l'ordine in scriptis, che presenta et exhibuit, et contiene che per seruizio di Sua Maestà tenendo bisogno della di lui persona, non parta di Napoli sotto pena della vita.

. . . .¹ dicat, che se nello estrarre detto Stantione, e per non auer ubbidito al monitorio ha errato, non è stato per mala uolontà, che era pronto di uenir a Roma, e riceuere qualsivo-

¹The first word of this sentence is lacking in the MS.

glia penitenza, conoscendo di auer fatto male in estrarlo, che però haueua procurato di farsi assoluere dalle censure, che però addimanda misericordia, buttandosi alli piedi del Santo Ufizio.

Perchè stando egli carcerato, diede un memoriale al Vicerè, doue li diceua che staua molto male, e che non li era data, nè anco commodità di acqua in giorni così calorosi; pero interrogato se habbia scritto alcun uiglietto al Vicerè, e chi li abbia dato tale commodità, respondit, che non ha scritto tal cosa, et il Vescouo di Molfetta dice che per comparatione, apparisce che detto viglietto non è di mano del figheroa, che qualcheduno lo hauerà scritto sotto nome suo.

Ha rinunziato alla ripetitione dei testimonij. Sta alle difese. *Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.* Ms. 1016, fol. 105ff.

XXVI.

Contra Christophorum figheroam carceratum Neapoli.

Dignetur D. V. Eminentissima reassumere summarium processus offensiui alias transmissum sub 5^a Septembris 1630, coram Sanctissimo.

Difese del detto Cristoforo figheroa.

Nel p^o, 2^o e 3^o articoli intende di prouare ch'egli è nato di padre e madre nobili di Vagliadolid, allenato cattolicamente, che sente messa, che ha seruito in diuersi carichi lodeuolmente Sua Maestà, anche con sodisfazione di Prelati ecclesiastici.

4^o testis. L'ho inteso da gente del suo paese.

5^o testis hispanus. fol. 34 et 36.

Il 6^o testimonio, fol. 37. Interrogato sopra gl'Interrogatorij, si leuò dallo scabello, e non uolse esaminarsi.

8^o. fol. 45.

Articolo 4^o e 5^o. Che per essere di nazione Spagnolo, ha sempre tenuto in grandissima riuerenza e timore il Tribunale del Santo Ufizio, essendosi in tutte le occasioni mostrato ubbidientissimo a seruire li Ministri, e Tribunale suddetto, e che ha sempre abominato gli eretici, e sospetti di eresia.

4^o testis. fol. 31, che lo tiene per tale.

5° testis. fol. 36, che così tiene.

6°. Che in caso che il fisco pretenda che egli non si sia mostrato tale per hauer esimito dalle carceri del Vescovato di Nicotera francesco Antonio Stantione, carcerato per cause spettanti al Santo Ufizio, quod expresse negat, ponit che detto Stantione, essendo destinato in Nicotera per Commissario ad essiggere li pagamenti fiscali dalli clerici coniugati e Diaconi seluaggi, fu scomunicato ingiustamente dal Vescouo di Nicotera, che teneua protezione di detti Diaconi seluaggi.

V° testis. Didacus Montoja, hispanus. Lo Stantione si lamentaua con me, che il Vescouo di Nicotera non gli lasciaua essiggere li pagamenti fiscali contro li clerici seluaggi e coniugati, e perchè esegui, detto Vescouo lo scomunicò, e staua molto alterato con detto Stantione.

XI. Prete francesco Agrippa. Lo Stantione mi disse che aueua molte pecore tolte ad un diacono seluaggio, e lo aueua fatto uenire a Montileone, perchè il Vescouo di Nicotera non gli auesse dato fastidio, nè impedito. Venne il Diacono seluaggio, e disse allo Stantione che se non le rendeuu, l'aueria fatto scomunicare. Il giorno seguente fu affisso un monitorio contro detto Stantione, che sub pœna excommunicationis si douesse presentare a Nicotera in quattro hore, per auer eseguito dette pecore del detto diacono seluaggio, et io lo lessi, lo dissi allo Stantione, il quale mi disse di uoler parlare col Prete Iamundo, Gesuita, come poi mi disse auer fatto, e che gli aueua detto che detta scomunica era nulla, e detto Prete Iamundo ne aueua parlato al Vescouo di Nicotera, egli haueua detto che scriuendogliene il Prete Piro, lo aueria rimediato. Io alloggiai in casa il detto Stantione, et anco il figheroa dopo la scarcerazione, quale racconta de auditu, però dal detto figheroa.

12°. Il Prete Iamundo dice che era fama comune che il Vescouo teneua carcerato per il Santo Ufizio lo Stantione, che uidde carcerato detto Stantione, e mi disse esser molto maltrattato e che patiua molto di fame.

Ultimus testis, Don Pietro di Simone, Sacerdote.

Che sa che detto Stantione fu carcerato perchè eseguiua.

contro Diaconi seluagi e clerici coniugati, e in specie contro Andrea delli Quartieri, amico del Vescouo, quale io intesi quando disse, fate che da qui auanti ci pensino li comissarij a uenire in Nicotera.

7°. Che detto Vescouo fece carcerare detto Stantione dalli detti diaconi, e lo maltrattorno, e strascinorno con una fune al collo, dandoli schiaffi, e bastonate in publico, con pelargli la barba, e tentorno di portarlo carcerato su d'un carro.

P° testis, de auditu incerto, che fu carcerato lo Stantione sulla piazza ignominiosamente, e che fino gli pelorno la barba, ma non ho inteso che fussero clerici seluaggi, nè so altro.

2° testis, fabricius de Afflicto; Quando detto Stanzione fu carcerato, io era seco accompagnato da clerici seluaggi et altri, e lo fero carcerare, facendogli violenza, ma non uiddi che gli auessero pelato la barba.

3° testis. Antonio Salcio, de auditu incerto, et de fama publica, che detto Stantione fu maltrattato nella carcerazione, io non ui ero, perchè stauo a Adriatico.

4° testis. Joannes de Burgos, compagno nel ministerio Regio de figheroa, de auditu incerto, che nella carcerazione fu maltrattato e datoli molti colpi di scopetta.

V° testis, de uisu a longe, che nella carcerazione lo maltrattauano, e la causa si diceua, era perchè fu più uolte scomunicato dal Vescouo, e auer eseguito sopra robbe di Preti.

9° testis, de auditu publico, che lo maltrattorno.

X° testis. Dopo che fu preso, io lo uiddi maltrattare con sangue in faccia, alcuni diceuano che detto Stantione non uoleua andar carcerato in mano di nemici. Ultimus testis, de uisu, che lo maltrattorno, ligandolo con fune e strascinandolo.

8°. Che dopo di esser stato detto Stantione carcerato in carcere pessima, il Vescouo gli proibì il commercio et il uitto, et si moriua di fame, et il Vescouo dalla finestra gli diceua, Comissariaccio del Consiglio, ecco doue ti tengo.

3° testis, de auditu ab incertis, che il Vescouo aueua ordinato che a pena se li desse da mangiare. In reliquis nescire.

X° testis, de auditu da Pietro di fiandra, che il Vescouo lo aueua messo in carcere oscuro, doue non se gli poteua parlare,

e mi disse che aueua inteso dire che il Vescouo lo ingiuraua dalla finestra, dicendoli, Commissariaccio. *Ultimus de auditu incerto.*

9°. Che detto Vescouo scrisse una lettera al Prete Pino, Gesuita, dicendo che per le impertinenze e mali portamenti del detto Commissario, l'aueua fatto carcerare, che ad ogni richiesta di detto Gesuita, o del signor consiglier Angulo, l'aueria fatto scarcerare.

4° testis. Ioannes de Burgos. Ho inteso da diuersi che il Vescouo scrisse al consigliere Angulo una lettera, dicendoli che non si pigliasse fastidio del carcerato, perche l'auerebbe quanto prima scarcerato, e così ho inteso dire che dicesse al figheroa, che ritornasse addietro che l'aueria scarcerato.

Il Prete Pino, Gesuita. Quando lo Stantione andò a Nicotera, io scrissi, così pregato da lui al Vescouo in sua raccomandazione, poi ruppero tra di loro per cose che Monsignore pretendeva essere spettanti al Santo Ufizio, onde Monsr. per essere mio amicissimo, uedendo che io l'aueuo raccomandato, mi scrisse che auerebbe fatto ogni buono ufizio uerso detto Stantione, et auerebbe rimesso il tutto a me, quali cose egli disse per complimento, et io gli scrissi, che facesse l'ufizio suo, e facesse temere le censure ecclesiastiche.

Il Prete Iamundo, Gesuita. Il Vescouo scrisse una lettera al Prete Pino, doue per quanto disse, il Vescouo gli scriueua il mal portamento del Stantione, et che quando il Prete Pino gli scriuesse che lo scarcerasse, l'aueria fatto per gusto del Prete, ma io non lessi la lettera.

X°. Che detto Vescouo fe' trattare con detto Stantione, che se uoleua quietamente partire, e fare in modo che del fatto non se ne parlasse, l'aueria poi scarcerato con molto onor suo e che gli aueria fatto pagare le giornate dalla Università, ma disse detto Commissario di non potere, per auerne dato parte al Collaterale.

Ultimus de auditu dal Sindaco.

XI°. Che dal consiglio furono spedite provisioni dirette al Preside per far scarcerare detto Commissario con ordine espresso.

9°. So che uenne ordine dal Collaterale al Preside della Provincia, e fu fatto monitorio al vescouo di Nicotera, che scarcerasse lo Stantione, e non uolendo scarcerarlo, andò a scarcerarlo detto figheroa, quale mi disse che si era portato con buoni termini, ma che il Vescouo non l'aueua uoluto intendere, onde egli fece il suo Ufizio.

X°. Joannes Vitalba. Mi ritrouai quando lo Stantione faceua eseguire a Nicotera sopra li beni, tanto di secolari, quanto di ecclesiastici. Si disgustò il Vescouo, per quanto intesi, e fu carcerato, ma non lo uiddi, intesi che fu con strappazzi.

12°. Che essendo esso articolante stato eletto per eseguire gli ordini del Collaterale, trouò per publica uoce e fama, che detto Stantione era non per altra causa stato carcerato, che per auer eseguito contro chierici coniugati e Diaconi seluaggi, e per auer sparlato del Vescouo, senza che si sia intesa altra causa di detta carcerazione.

P° testis. Frate Ambrosius de Cordoua, de auditu incerto, che detto Stantione era stato carcerato per esecuzioni fatte a chierici, e che per essere, per questo, stato scomunicato dal Vescouo, non aueua desistito. De auditu ut supra, che fu spedito il figheroa, perchè lo estraesse, come si disse fu fatto.

2° testis, Fabricius de Afflicto. Francesco Antonio Stantione fu carcerato dal Vescouo, perchè non stimaua le scomuniche, come mi disse esso Vescouo, ma io non so altra causa, so bene che il Vescouo scomunicò detto Stanzione due uolte per auer eseguito sopra le robbe di persone ecclesiastiche. Io ho sempre inteso, che Monsr. Vescouo teneua carcerato lo Stantione per capo d'Inquisizione, per dispreggio delle scomuniche, che così si diceua da tutti che era carcerato, e così lo teneua carcerato per causa di Santo Ufizio.

7° testis. Christophorus de Uglaloge. Che detto figheroa è carcerato, perchè andò con ordine Regio a scarcerare lo Stantione, perchè staua carcerato per causa di Santo Ufizio, e che detto figheroa auesse risposto, io so come sono le cose del Santo Ufizio, e che non staua carcerato per questo, e questo ho inteso da diuerse persone di Palazzo.

13°. Che fece scriuere al Vescouo, e mandargli a parlare, mettendogli in considerazione, che non era bene tenere tanto tempo carcerato un laico senza giusta e legitima causa, ma non uolse pigliare temperamento alcuno.

14°. Che detto Vescouo non disse, nè fu inteso dire che detto Comissario egli lo tenesse carcerato per il Santo Ufizio, ma perchè auesse parlato della sua persona, che quando egli promettesse di partire dalla sua Diocesi, l'aueria fatto scarcerare.

Il Prete Iamundo, Gesuita. Io ho detto che il Vescouo e suo Vicario diceuano che teneuano carcerato lo detto Stantione per causa di Santo Ufizio, e per questa causa, l'auueuano mandato a pigliare. So che il Vescouo prima della carcerazione di detto Stantione si lamentaua di esso, che auesse fatto poca stima delle scomuniche.

15° et 16°. Che esso articolante andò di persona dal Vescouo, al quale da solo a solo senza che uì fusse presente alcuno, in una camera serrata gli parlò, e pregandolo, egli si leuò in furia, entrò in altra camera lasciando l'articolante solo, onde si partì dolendosi del maltermine riceuuto dal Vescouo.

Ultimus. Quando venne detto figheroa in Nicotera, andò dal Vescouo, et io per curiosità, andai sino alla sala di Monsre., e detto figheroa et il Vescouo entrorno dentro, si serrorno soli, e dopo un quarto d'hora, uiddi che detto figheroa aprì da sè la porta, e se n'uscì sdegnato, dicendo, son termini da usar questi tra cortigiani?

17°. Che detto Stantione non era inquisito di cause spettanti al Santo Ufizio, perchè essendosi egli presentato in Roma nel Santo Ufizio, fu subito spedito, licenziato senza tortura, nè abiura, e difese.

18° articolo, che quatenus si pretendesse del fisco che mentre parlò con il Vescouo, li fusse stato intimato alcun monitorio, o Bolla pontificia, quod negat, ponit, che non gli fu intimato, e non fu uisto intimargli detto monitorio, o Bolla, e che nè anco è uerisimile, che in sì poco tempo, gli fusse stato intimato.

Il Prete Iamundo, Gesuita, de auditu ab episcopis, che aueua intimato la Bolla di Pio Quinto al figheroa quando andò a parlargli.

19° e 20° Articoli. Ch'egli non si può dir contumace agli ordini di Roma, per auere un ordine penale sotto pena della uita del Vicerè di non partire di Napoli. Che procurò la riuocazione, ma non gli fu concessa.

4° testis. Io so che il figheroa non andò a comparire a Roma per la pena che da parte del Vicerè li ueniua minacciata, e so che fece molte diligenze per riuocare l'ordine del Vicerè.

Ultimus testis, de auditu incerto, che essendo stato citato a Roma, ne addimandò licenza al Vicerè, e non auendogliela concessa, gli fece ordine penale della uita che non partisse.

21°. Che dalle censure ad cautelam, si è fatto assoluere in foro conscientiae nelli Giubilei uniuersali concessi da Nostro Signore.

4°. Io ho uisto le cartelle della assoluzione ottenuta da detto figheroa in foro conscientiae.

22°. Che li clerici coniugati e non coniugati e diaconi seluaggi gli sono nemici per la causa sodetta, e che del processo come fabricato da Giudice sospetto non si deue auere in consideratione.

Ultimo articolo. Che essendosi esaminato Antonio Boccafona, Marcanius Boccafona, Francesco Corrio, e Girolamo Barone, come amici del Vescouo, non deuono meritar fede.

Die 5^a septembris 1630 proposita causa Sanctissimus declarauit si ex defensionibus nihil releuans ad eius favorem resultauit eundem figheroam incidisse in censuras, et poenas contentas in Constitutione sanctae memoriae Pij Papae quinti incipiente si de protegendis ac mandauit sententiam legi in Congregatione consultorum uelo leuato, ibique eundem figheroam absolui a censuris, eandemque sententiam legi, et publicari Neapoli, et Nicoteræ, Summarium causae mitti nuncijs Apostolicis Hispaniae et Neapolis, cum facultate pandendi contenta in eodem summano, praecipue Rei confessionem, exaggerarique urbanitates erga dictum Reum, illum uocando cum promissionibus et quod cum benignitate expediretur. Praeterea procedi contra magis culpabiles supra dicti excessus, hocque notificari etiam pontificiis nuncijs Hispaniae et Neapolis.

Per qualificare la sua persona ha il detto figheroa esibito una lettera scritta in sua raccomandazione dalla Maestà Catolica fin dal 1606 all'Arciduca Alberto, nella quale racconta molti seruizii fatti in più luoghi per il Rè.¹

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 1016.

XXVII.

Al Duque de Monteleon.

En las cárceles del Nuncio está preso el Dor. Don Xpoual de figuroa por las causas que V. E. deve tener entendidas, tocantes á Jurisdiccion, y porque se trata agora de sus defensiones y el Duque mi Sr. se halla obligado á ellas por el servicio de su Magestad, me ha mandado diga á V. E. que si en su casa huuiere alguna persona que pueda dezir á su favor, disponga V. E. como esto se consiga con toda brebedad, Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años.

Castilnuouo á 5 de Nobembre, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 166. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXVIII.

Al Secretario herrera.

El Duque mi Sr. ha resuelto que se escriba apretadamente al agente deste Reyno en Roma que ayude con mucho cuidado el despacho de la causa del Dr. Don Christóbal Xuárez de figuroa, ya que de aquí se ha embiado el proceso que ha sustanciado por comision de Su Santidad Monsr. Petronio, y como este negocio ha tenido principio en su escritorio de Vm., y juzgo que por él se habrán escrito otras cartas al Agente sobre la materia, me ha parecido avisar á Vm. de la voluntad de S. E. para que con más acierto se execute.

Castilnuovo á 18 de Nobembre, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 170b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

¹ This letter is found in the Appendix, p. 99.

XXIX.

Al Secretario Juan Pablo Bonete.

El Duque mi Sr. me ha mandado remitir á Vm. esos tres papeles, el primero sobre la cobranza de una inposicion que por razon de la Aduana grande desta Ciudad se ha de hazer en Vietri, lugar de la Ciudad de la cava, el 2º acerca de las diferencias que tiene Phelipe Grimaldo, Baron de St. Angel, con el Arçobispo de Manfredonia sobre las décimas que pretende cobrar en aquel estado, y el tercero trata de la causa del Dr. D. Xpoual Xuárez de figueroa, y dize S. E. que Vm. se sirua de suplicar de su parte al Sr. Conde de Monterey favorezca estos negocios en Roma con muchas veras porque es interesada en ellos la Jurisdiccion de su Magestad, y en particular en la causa del Dr. figueroa. Guarde Dios á Vm.

De Castilnuovo á 17 de Diziembre, 1630.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 179b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXX.

A Don Albaro de Toledo.

Ya V. S. está informado del negocio de Don Xpobal Xuárez de figueroa y de las causas de su prision, y como agora se ha de ber y determinar en Roma, y supuesto que V. S. se ha de conferir en aquella ciudad á otros negocios, me ha mandado el Duque mi Sr. que diga á V. S. que ayude éste donde fuere menester de manera que se consiga el breve y buen despacho que demás de ser tan del servicio de su Magestad como V. S. sabe, S. E. lo estimará mucho.

Castilnuovo 13 de Enero, 1631.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 185b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXXI.

Al Secretario herrera.

El Duque mi Sr. ha resuelto que el Dr. Tomas Imperato vaya á Roma á patrocinar la causa del Dr. Don Christóbal

Xuárez de figueroa, y que para el dicho efecto, se le den doscientos ducados de ayuda de costa por cuenta de gastos secretos, y dize S. E. que V. S. dé para ello las órdenes necesarias.

Castilnuovo á 18 de Enero, 1631.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1472, fol. 190b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 94.

XXXII.

Secretario herrera.

Por parte de Don Christóbal Suárez de figueroa, se ha referido al Duque mi Sr. que hasta agora no se le han pagado los cinquenta ducados que S. E. le mandó dar los meses pasados para ayuda de costa, representando que padeze estrema necesidad, y S. E. me ha mandado diga á Vm. que procure con efecto que se le dé satisfacion con toda brevedad.

Palacio 30 de Março 1631.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1480, fol. 46b-47. Biglietti spediti a diverse Autorità, No. 102.

XXXIII.

A Juan Rubio de Herrera.

Al Dor. Don Christóbal Suárez de figueroa hallo en el mismo aprieto de cárcel en esta nunciatura que el primer día que se comenzó su causa aunque absuelto de las censuras de la bula de protegendis y condolido como es justo de su trabajo y obligado por el servicio de su Magestad, al remedio dél escribo al Sr. Cardenal de Borja, mi primo, la carta cuya copia ha aquí, y á Vm. le encargo encarezidamente la solicitud del despacho orden á su liberacion, haziendo para en mi nombre todas las diligencias que pareciere á Vm. convenir y de lo que en esto se le ofreciere, me avisará Vm. que Dios guarde.

Nápoles á 20 de Mayo, 1631.

El Conde de Monterey.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1292, fol 1b. Corrispondenza Estera, No. 5. The MS. is somewhat defective.

XXXIV.

Al Cardenal Borja. Eminentísimo Reverendísimo Señor.

Primo y Sr. mio, el primer negocio en que he puesto los ojos en este Gobierno, digno de compasion y remedio es el que estuvo pendiente tantos meses y todavía lo está, que toca al Dr. Don Christóbal Suárez de figueroa que como sabe V. Eminentísima Reverendísima y yo entendí, en essa Corte fué condenado en las penas de la Bula de protegendis, y se halla oy en las cárceles desta Nunciatura en el mismo aprieto que en los principios de su prision, aunque segun me dizen, absuelto de las censuras, y assí me hallo obligado á suplicar á V. Eminentísima Reverendísima me haga merced que vengan con toda brebedad los despachos necesarios para su soltura que si no me acuerdo mal, quedó apuntado el día de su condenacion á hazerle Su Santidad la gracia, y yo suplico á V. Eminentísima Reverendísima en mi nombre que la pida á su Beatitud, y pues V. Eminentísima Reverendísima sabe lo que en el servicio de su Magestad cimiento de lo que yo desseo su brebe y buen despacho, y para las beras conque estoy cierto que V. Eminentísima Reverendísima le ha de procurar, haziéndome la merced que suele. Guarde Dios la Eminentísima Reverendísima persona de V. Eminencia Reverendísima como desseo.

Nápoles á 20 de Mayo, 1631.

El Conde de Monterey.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1292, fol. 1. Corrispondenza Estera, No. 5. The MS. is defective.

XXXV.

Al Secretario Rosales.

El Conde mi Sr. me ha mandado dezir á Vm. que haga pagar por quenta de gastos secretos, quarenta ducados al Dr. Don Christóbal Suárez de figueroa para ayuda á los gastos de su prision, y que se escriba de nuevo á Roma en lo que contiene su incluso villete.

Palacio 4 de Julio 1631.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1483, fol. 50b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 105.

XXXVI.

SESSION OF THE COLLATERALE.

DIE SABATI 13 7BRIS 1631, DE MANE.

Entró Su Excelencia con el señor Visitador General, y los señores Regentes Tapia, Enriquez, Lopez, Rouito, consejeros Salgado y Zufia, y el Presidente Casanate. Se leyó la carta de Su Magestad al Sr. Duque de Alcalá de los 18 de Março 1631 sobre la prision de D. Thomas Calandrino, y el Marqués Ludouico Mariscotti, y por las razones que apunta, manda Su Magestad se suspenda de trattar más de lo que toca á este particular de D. Thomas Calandrino, y que se quede en el estado en que se halla oy. En quanto al hauer saccado á Roma D. Ludouico Mariscotti, titulado feudatorio, y entretenido de Su Magestad, ha escrito al Sr. Conde de Monterey, embaxador extraordinario en Roma, que en su nombre dé á entender al Papa y á la congregacion del Santo officio el justo sentimiento de hauer sacado al dicho Mariscotti sin dar noticia al Virrey, paraque se abstengan de emprender cosas semejantes, que no se han de consentir ny dissimular. Por lo de D. Christóual de figueroa, ha parecido que la prision no fué bien hecha, y agradece su Magestad lo que ha hecho assy en la hortatoria que se hizo á Petronio, porque dentro de tres días exhibiese ante el Virrey las órdenes, comissiones, ó otra potestad en virtud de la qual exercitaua Juridicion, y que entre tanto, no la exerciesse, como tambien lo ha parecido de hauer hecho sacar al dicho Auditor de manos de los cursores y quitadoselos las armas prohiuidas, lleuandolo á Castilnueuo, y no hauerlo hecho lleuar á Roma, y porque se sepa lo que se ha de hazer en semejantes casos, y se euiten las dudas, manda Su Magestad que ningun Delegado ó Comissario que uenga de Roma exercite Juridicion alguna en este Reyno si no huuiere primero presentado las lettras de su comission y ottenido el Regio Exequatur como es costumbre y cosa assentada. Y quanto á las cosas de Inquisicion, es tambien voluntad de Su Magestad que si primero no se huuiere dado noticia á los Señores Virreyes de la comission que tubiere de Roma con

mostrar las letras, no permitan que se exercite Juridicion sin aprouacion ó licencia, y que no se dé lugar ni á prender, ny á saccar persona alguna del Reyno aunque sea por cosa de la Inquisicion, sinque primero el que le pretendiere hazer, dé noticia dello. Demás, manda Su Magestad que no se permitta á los cursores y ministros, assy de Arçobispos, obispos ó delegados, ó comissarios de la Inquisicion traher armas prohibidas por las Pramaticas, y si las traxeren, se las quitten y se executen en todo tiempo por los sucessores, registrandose en Colateral, y más ha mandado Su Magestad al dicho Sr. Conde de Monterrey que se resienta con Su Santidad viuamente y mande reprehender á Petronio.

Se concluyó.

Que se execute en todo y por todo la carta de Su Magestad, y que se haga nueva hortatoria á Petronio, con insercion de la primera, haziendo mencion de la orden de Su Magestad y palabras della.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Notamentorum Collateralis Consilii, Vol. 18, fol. 97.

XXXVII.

S. E. dize que V. S. pague por quenta de gastos secretos doscientos ducados á Don Cristóval de figueroa.

Palacio 13 de Hebrero 1632.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1483, fol. 96b. Biglietti spediti a diverse autorità, No. 105.

XXXVIII.

El Conde mi Sr. ha hecho merced al Dor. Don Christóbal Suárez de figueroa de la plaza de Abogado fiscal de la Audiencia de Trani por estar fuera con licencia el Dor. Reynaldo Brancacho que la seruía, de que S. E. me ha mandado auisar á V. S. y dize que por aora se le den los despachos que fueren necesarios por escritorio.

Puzol 3 de Enero 1633.

Archivio di Stato, Naples. Archivio de' Vicerè, Vol. 1850, fol. 31b. Governi ed Officij, No. 6.

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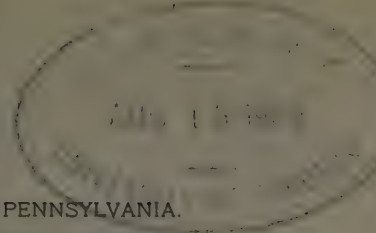
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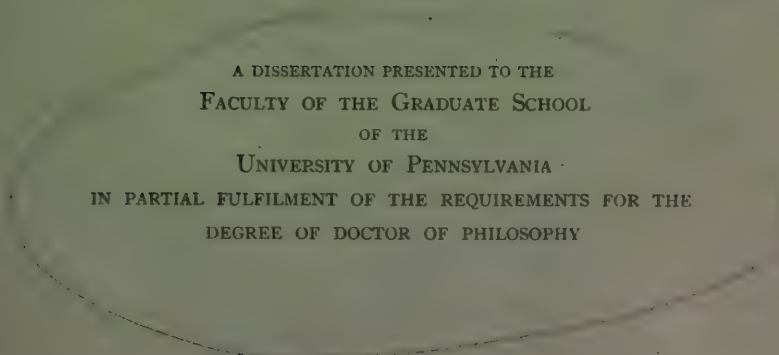
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1.
PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
SERIES IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE, NO. 2.



WAS FERNANDO DE HERRERA A GREEK SCHOLAR?

BY
R. M. BEACH.

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1908

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WAS DE HERRERA A GREEK SCHOLAR?

Francisco de Rioja writes to the Count of Olivares thus: "De la lengua Griega dicen que tuvo mas que mediana noticia; i por lo menos los libros que dejò della (que ni fueron pocos ni ordinarios) se ven notados assi como los Latinos" (Preface to the Seville, 1619, edition of Herrera's poems).

Before entering upon this examination two facts should be noted which are well known to those who turn over the pages of old editions of the Greek and Latin classics, but which are not at all obvious to those who deal merely with our modern critical editions.

First: by the year 1580 (the date of Herrera's notes on Garcilasso) about everything written in Greek could be read in a Latin translation; second: that the notes of the commentators were filled with all kinds of rare and uncommon learning, often pedantic and dull, and more to show the learning of the commentator than to illustrate the author whom he professes to explain. Let anyone turn over the pages of Servius' Commentaries on Vergil, for example, and he will be astonished at the amount of recondite learning.

Now, as to the investigation itself. It is divided into four sections, as follows:

(1) Did Herrera read the Greek authors in Greek or in Latin translations?

(2) Plagiarisms and ostentatious show of learning by Herrera.

(3) Blunders in Greek quotations, words, and accents, committed by Herrera.

(4) General discussion of Herrera's knowledge of the Greek language and literature.

All references to Herrera's poetry, though I have had the edition of Seville, 1619, before me, are to the Rivadeneyra edition (vol. 32 of *Bibliot. de Autores Españoles* etc., Madrid): his notes on Garcilasso are cited from the edition of Seville, 1580.

This first section is composed of excerpts from Herrera's notes on Garcilasso; giving first his Spanish, then the Greek, then the Latin, and lastly a note of criticism.

I shall begin with Aelian, using the edition of Perizonius, (Leiden, 1701), who prints the Latin version of Justus Vultejus (A. D. 1548), '*ad Graecum contextum emendata*' by Perizonius.

Page 160. "Dize Eliano en el 2. de la varia istoria, que Gorgias Leontino, consumido ya de la vegez, i trabajado de la grande enfermedad, como se venciesse poco a poco del sueño, preguntandole un amigo suyo, que tal se hallava? respondio; ya el sueño comiença a entregarme a su ermano."

"Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος ἐπὶ τέρματι ὄν τοῦ βίου, καὶ γεγηρακῶς εὖ μάλα, ὑπὸ τινος ἀσθενείας καταληφθεὶς, κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ὕπνον ὑπολισθαίνων ἔκειτο. Ἐπεὶ δέ τις αὐτὸν παρήλθε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπισκοπούμενος, καὶ ἤρετο, τί πράττοι; ὁ Γοργίας ἔφη, Ἦδῃ με ὁ ὕπνος ἀρχεται παρακατατίθεσθαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ. *Var. Hist.* II. 35.

"Gorgias Leontinus in extremo vitae positus, et bene senio confectus, adversa valetudine correptus, paulatim in somnum prolabens jacebat. Quum vero quidam ex necessariis accederet ad eum invisendi causa, et. quomodo se haberet? quaereret. Jam, inquit, me somnus incipit suo fratri tradere."

Nota. 'Trabajado de la grande enfermedad' is more like 'adversa valetudine correptus' than 'ὑπὸ τινος ἀσθενείας

καταληφθεῖς.' Senio confectus-consumido de la vegez. παρακατατίθεσθαι means to entrust (one's property) to the keeping of another.

Page 313. "Segun Eliano enel 2. de varia istoria los Atenienses onravan al rio Cefiso en figura de ombre con cuernos."

"Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὸν Κηφισὸν ἄνδρα μὲν δεικνύουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, κέρατα δὲ ὑποφαίνοντα." *Var. Hist.* II. 33.

"Athenienses autem Cephissum virum quidem ostentant in sacris honoribus, sed cornua exserentem."

Nota. "Con cuernos" translates "cornua exserentum," but not κέρατα ὑποφαίνοντα. The ὑπό gives the idea of the tips of the horns just beginning to show.

Page 316. "Eliano trae enel 3. de la varia istoria, que los Satiros fueron compañeros de Baco, i que algunos los llaman Titiros, de los Teretismas, que son las danças i bailes lacivos i provocadores de la desonestidad, con que juegan los Satiros; i quiere que su nombre se deduzca de l'abertura de la boca, porque σῆρειν sinifica abrir la boca."

"Ὅτι οἱ συγχωρενταὶ Διονύσου Σάτυροι ἦσαν, οἱ ὑπ' ἐνίων Τίτυροι ὀνομαζόμενοι. Ἔσχον δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν τερετισμάτων, οἷς χαίρουσι Σάτυροι. Σάτυροι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι." *Var. Hist.* III. 40.

"Comites Bacchi fuerunt Satyri, quos nonnulli Tityros appellant. Hoc autem nomen habuerunt a lascivis et procacibus saltationibus, quibus gaudent Satyri. Satyri vero dicti sunt ab oris rictu."

Nota. Two things appear very clearly in this note; first, that Herrera translated directly from the Latin; second, that he had not even a schoolboy's knowledge of Greek. Τερετίσματα are pipings. They have no connection whatever with lascivious dances. Herrera did not know enough Greek to be able to tell what τερετίζω and τερέτισμα mean. He evidently could not deduce the present infinitive from σεσηρέναι, but puts σῆρειν (an absurd blunder) for σαίρειν.

Page 407. "De aqui [i. e. from the blinding of Daphnis] tuvieron principio las canciones Bucolicas, a las cuales dio materia la infelicidad de los ojos de Dafnis. i el primero, que tratò este argumento (como dize Eliano) fue Estesicoro Imereo."

"Ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη πρῶτον ᾔσθη, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ Στησίχορον γε τὸν Ἱμεραῖον τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι." *Var. Hist.*, X. 18.

"Ex eo Bucolica primum carmina cantata sunt, et hoc oculorum illius damnum materiam habuerunt. Et Stesichorus Himeraeus istam poesin coepisse traditur."

Nota. "Alas cuales dio materia la infelicidad de los ojos" follows the Latin construction closely, but not the Greek. Τὸ πάθος, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς = the loss that he suffered in regard to his eyes. Also, in the last sentence, the Greek construction of accusative with infinitive, with which we have to understand φασίν, is different both from the Latin and the Spanish. Let us now turn to an extract from the *Historiae Mirabiles* of Antigonus of Carystus (published at Basel, 1568, Greek with Latin transl. of Xylander). I use Beckmann's edit., Leipzig, 1791, which gives Xylander's version.

Page 422. "Antigono, el que recogio las istorias admirables, trae que Ameleságoras Ateniense, escritor de la istoria Atica, afirma que no entran cornejas en l'alcaçar de Atenas, i que ninguno ái que pueda dezir que vio en ella alguna. la causa desto esplica fabulosamente. porque dize, que siendo dada Palas en matrimonio a Vulcano, i acostada con el en un mesmo lecho, subitamente desaparecio de la vista i presencia de Vulcano, i nunca mas la vieron con el; i cayendo Vulcano en la tierra, nacio Eritonio. al cual crio Minerva, i lo cerro en una cesta; dexando la en deposito a las hijas de Cécrope, Agraulo, Pandroso, i Erse, defendiendo les que no l'abriessen, hasta que ella diesse la buelta, i iendo

a Pelena ciudad de Acaya, arrancó un monte para fortificar la testera del castillo, en tanto abrieron Agraulo i Pandroso la cesta, i vieron dos dragones junto a Eritonio. i trayendo Minerva el monte, que oi se llama Licabéto, le salio Corona al camino, i le dixo, que ya estava Eritonio descubierto. ella, oyendo esto, arrojó el monte donde aora està; i dixo a Corona, que jamas le seria licito por el mal nuncio, entrar en su castillo, i luego Corona se deformó en corneja."

"Ἀμελησαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφῶς, οὗ φησι κορῶνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδ' ἔχει ἂν εἰπεῖν ἑωρακῶς οὐδεὶς. Ἀποδιῶσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς, φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, συνκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἡφαιστον, εἰς γῆν πεσόντα, προίεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα· τὴν δὲ γῆν ὑπερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον· ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, καὶ εἰς κίστην καθείρξαι, καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγραύλῳ, καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, καὶ Ἐρσῇ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἀγραυλὸν καὶ Πάνδροσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξαι, καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορῶνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν, ῥίψαι τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶ· τῇ δὲ κορῶνῃ, διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν, εἰπεῖν, ὥς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι." *Hist. Mirab.*, cap. 12.

"Amelesagoras Atheniensis, qui Atticae descriptionem condidit, negat ad arcem advolare cornicem; neque esse ait ullum, qui dicere possit, se id vidisse. Causam ipse fabulose refert. Minervam Vulcano in matrimonium traditam, cum eundem cum ipso intrasset lectum, evanuisse. Vulcanum in terram concidisse, ac semen profudisse. terram deinde Vulcano Erichthonium edidisse: huncque a Minerva enutritum, in cistam inclusum, traditumque Cecropis filiabus, Agraulo, Pandroso, et Ersae, ut asservarent; mandatumque, ne cistam ante suum adventum aperirent. ipsam ad Pellenem abiisse, montis apportandi caussa, quem propugnandi loci ante arcem collocaret. Interim Agraulum et Pandrosion cistam aperuisse, et conspexisse circa Erichthonium duos serpentes. Minervae montem ferenti, cui nunc Lycabettus nomen, obviam factam cornicem, et renunciasset, detectum esse Erich-

thonium. Deam hoc audito, montem eo loci, ubi nunc est situs, abiecisce; cornici autem, ob malum nuncium, dixisse, nefas esse, eam in arcem intrare."

Nota. See how closely the Spanish follows the Latin. 'Con el en un mesmo lecho' = cum eundem cum ipso intrasset lectum. "Siendo dada Palas en matrimonio a Vulcano" = Minervam Vulcano in matrimonio traditam. There is nothing about matrimony in the Greek. In the Greek Athena gives the chest to the children (παῖσιν) of Cecrops. The Spanish follows the Latin, hijas = filibus. Later we have 'the daughters of Cecrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos' in the Greek, where the Latin and Spanish say merely, "Agraulos and Pandrosos."

Notice especially the real difference in meaning between the Greek, ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, and the Spanish, "iendo a Pelena, arrancó un monte." In the first the goddess, having made her journey to Pellene, is bringing the mountain back to Attica (the tearing-up of the mass is understood). In the second, the action is not so far advanced. 'Iendo' = abiisse, but not ἀφικομένην.

Let us consider some passages where Herrera draws from Pausanias, who was one of his favorite authors, if we may judge by the use he makes of him. Pausanias' *Descriptio Graeciae* was translated into Latin by Romolo Amaseo, and this version appeared without the Greek at Rome, 1547. I am sorry that I have not been able to find a copy of this edition. I have had to use Siebelis' edition (Leipzig, 1822) in which the Latin version of Amaseo has been corrected in many places. But even so, there are striking evidences that Herrera used this version, and not the Greek text.

Page 142. Herrera says that he will tell the story of Daphnis as Pausanias tells it in his 8th book, because it is new in Spain.

So he begins: "Ladon por la hermosura del' agua ecede a todos los rios de Grecia, i es mui celebre por causa de Dafne i lo que cantan della los poetas. Cuentan que Enomao rei de Pisa tuvo un hijo dicho Leucipo " etc.

"Ὁ δὲ Δάδων ποταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὁδὼρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην, Δάφνης τε εἴνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην. . . . Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός." *Gr. D. VIII. 20.*

"Ladon quidem ipse aquae pulchritudine omnibus Graeciae fluminibus antecellit: celebratur vero maxime Daphnes causa, et ob ea quae de illa poetae decantarunt. . . . Oenomao narrant Pisae regi filium fuisse Leucippum nomine."

A little further on we read how Leucippos, after having let his hair grow long, braided it, put on woman's attire, and then went, pretending to be a girl, and asked permission to hunt with Daphne. Herrera continues: "Como en el abito del cuerpo pareciesse donzella " etc., which is word for word the Latin "*Quum itaque virgo esse ex corporis habitu facile crederetur.*" There is absolutely nothing in the Greek to represent "*ex corporis habitu*" and "en el abito del cuerpo." We have merely: *ἄτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος.*

Page 359. "Dize Pausanias enel lib. 9., que por persuasion de Iuno osaron provocar las Sirenes a la contienda del canto a las Musas, i siendo vencidas, les arrancaron las Musas, las plumas de las alas, i se coronaron dellas."

"Τὰς γὰρ ὅη . . . ἀναπειθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἥρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μοῦσας ἐς ὥδης ἔργον. αἱ δὲ, ὡς ἐνίκησαν, ἀποτίλασαι τῶν Σειρήνων τὰ πτερὰ, ποιήσασθαι στεφάνους ἀπ' αὐτῶν λέγονται." *Graec. Dis. IX. 34.*

"Acheloi enim filias narrant Junonis suasu in cantus certamen Musas provocare ausas: victis Musas pinnae ex alis convelisse, deque illis coronas sibi fecisse."

Nota. The whole turn of the Spanish is shaped according to the Latin. Notice the "osaron provocar . . . a la

contienda del canto = in cantus certamen . . . provocare ausas."

Page 220. Herrera gives an account of Anacreon:

"Fue el primero despues de Safo, que gastò gran parte de sus versos en declarar sus amores."

'Ανακρέων ὁ Τήϊος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφῶ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἐγραψε ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας." *Gr. Des.* I. 25.

"Anacreon Teius, qui primus post Lesbiam Sappho magnam carminum suorum partem in exprimendis amoribus consumsit."

Nota. "gastò gran parte de sus versos" = "magnam carminum suorum partem consumsit." "En declarar sus amores" = "in exprim. amor."

I think enough has been given to show that Herrera used the translation of Romolo Amaseo, and not the Greek.

The Bibliotheca of Apollodorus is very easy Greek, but even this Herrera read in Latin. On page 580 he writes: "Dizen que nacieron las Furias ex sanguinis guttis pudendorum Caeli in terram cadentibus."

("Ἐκ δὲ τῶν σταλαγμῶν τοῦ ῥέοντος αἵματος Ἑρινύνες ἐγένοντο, *Apol. Bib.* I. 1, 4).

We see here that Herrera has copied his Latin Apollodorus right into his Spanish *pudoris causa*. His use of the Latin shows also in the corrupt forms of his proper names. For instance he tells us (p. 670) that Panyasis makes Adonis the son of Thoas (Toante). This is from Apollod. III. 14, 3, where the name is *Θείας*. No one translating from the Greek would put down Thoas. But the Latin form Theas might easily be corrupted into Thoas by one who was not familiar with the widely different Greek form. Herrera gives us a similar clue to the fact that he has Latin before him, not Greek, in his account of the Sicilian shepherd Daphnis (p. 406), which he takes from Diodorus of Sicily iv. 84. He begins, "Ai en Sicilia unos montes

llamados Aerios." It would be difficult to recognize in this name Diodorus' τὸ Ἠραῖον ὄρος, but the Latin form, printed in the old-fashioned way, 'Eraei montes' might easily by metathesis become 'Aerios.'

SEC. II. PLAGIARISMS AND OSTENTATIOUS SHOW OF LEARNING.

In this section it is proposed to deal first with the matter of plagiarism and then with a few of the cases where Herrera seems to have gone out of his way a little more than usual in order to impress his readers. I shall quote the Spanish passage first, and then subjoin the author or authors from whom Herrera draws without acknowledgment.

Page 87. "Los Griegos llaman μάρμαρον al mar, por el resplandor i color de l'agua comovida. i es el mar antigua voz Siriaca *marath* que significa lo margo."

"Graecum est μάρμαρον a nitore aquae commotae. . . . Mare autem vetus vox Syra, MARATH." Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 16.

Nota. Herrera was a careful reader of the great Scaliger, and he pays him the distinguished compliment in more than one place of using his writings without a hint as to the source. What makes the matter the more significant is that Scaliger happened to be wrong in both of his statements. I am able to state on the authority of Dr. Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University, that there is no word at all like *marath* meaning ocean in Syriac. I can only surmise that Scaliger, who knew some Hebrew, took the word *marah*, meaning *bitter* in that language, and boldly made his statement. As regards the Greek word, probably Scaliger confused μάρμαρος and μαρμάρεος.

Page 155. "Omero dize, que Vulcano decendio cayendo

del aire, i que es coxo, porque el fuego de su naturaleza nunca es derecho. . . . Fornuto entiende por Iupiter el aire, de quien se engendran los rayos, i por esso dicen que Vulcano nacio del muslo de Iuno, porque los rayos nacen de la infima region del aire a lo cual se allega Lucano escribiendo assi en el lib." I. Fulminibus terrae proprior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent.

"Homerus dicit eum [i. e. Vulcanum] de aere precipitatum in terras, quod omne fulmen de aere cadit" etc. "Claudus autem dicitur quod per naturam nunquam rectus est ignis." Servius in *Vergil. Aeneid.* 8, 414.

"Ideo autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus, quod fulmina de imo aere nascuntur: quod etiam Lucanus dicit: Fulminibus terrae proprior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent." Servius in *Aen.* 8, 454.

Nota. We see here that Herrera has pillaged from two passages, running them together in his translation. Even the two lines from Lucan, *Pharsal.* II. 269, 273, which Servius has put together from two passages with good literary taste, are quoted by Herrera in just the same way. In a word, the only part which Herrera can claim as original is in the two mistakes, i. e. quoting the lines as from book I, and writing, or leaving uncorrected, *proprior*.

Page 220. "Assi como la poesia eroica tomò nombre del canto, llamandose *ραψωδία* i *επος*; assi la Lirica se apellidò *ὠδή* i *μέλος* i *μολπή*, porque no se pronunciavan sin el canto i la lira; i Oracio puso titulo de Odas a sus libros, porque se cantavan."

"Proxima Heroicae maiestati Lyrica nobilitas, ut illa a cantu Rapsodia et Epos; ita haec Ode, et *μέλος*, et *μολπή*. Neque enim ea sine cantu atque Lyra pronuntiabant, unde et Lyricorum appellatio. Odas quoque a canendo titulum suorum librorum fecit Horatius." Scaliger, *Poet.* I. 44.

Nota. The real interest in these passages is that they show either that Herrera translated directly from the originals, or that he kept a commonplace-book from which he took the matter, but did not indicate that it was borrowed. Scholars nowadays, I believe, tell us that Horace did not call his four books *Odae* but *Carmina*.

Page 251. "Platon hizo 3. partes del animo; razon, ira, i codicia o concupiscencia, si esto declara lo que es *cupiditas*. pero Aristoteles i otros, imitando a Pitagoras, dividen el animo en dos; participe de razon o racional en quien ponen la tranquilidad, que es una constancia agradable i quieta; i esta parte con la qual juzgamos i contemplamos, enseña i muestra lo que se deve hazer i huir. La otra, ques la irracional, està puesta enel apetito, la cual se llama *δρμη* en sermon Griego, i enella pusieron unos movimientos turbios de ira i codicia, contrarios i enemigos a la razon."

"In his explicandis veterem illam equidem Pythagorae primum, dein Platonis descriptionem sequar, qui animum in duas partes dividunt, alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem; in participe rationis ponunt tranquillitatem, id est placidam quietamque constantiam, in illa altera motus turbidos cum irae, tum cupiditatis, contrarios inimicosque rationi." *Cicer. Tusc. Disp.* IV. 5, 10-11.

"Etenim virtus omnis tribus in rebus fere vertitur, quarum una etc. . . . alterum cohibere motus animi turbatos, quos Graeci *πάθη* nominant, appetitionesque, quas illi *ὀρμῆς*, oboedientes efficere rationi." *Cic. De Off.* II. 5, 18.

Nota. Truly, 'the voice is Cicero's voice, but the hands are the hands of Aristotle!' "Supo Fernando de Herrera la Filosofia mui bien," says Francisco de Rioja (Preface to Herrera's poems. Seville, 1619). It would be interesting if Rioja could tell us fully on what he based his

judgment. In Herrera's notes on Garcilasso I have found nothing but the ostentatious display which is shown in this extract. No wonder that Herrera calls Cicero "el principe dela eloquencia i filosofia Romana" (p. 651).

Page 258. "Aquel dicho de Neocles filosofo Ateniese, hermano de Epicuro, que dixo, vive de tal suerte, que ninguno sepa que as vivido."

"Neocles Atheniensis, philosophus, frater Epicuri. . . . Et Neoclis est dictum illud, Late vivens." Suidas, *Lexicon* sub. v. *Neocles*.

Nota. I quote from Suidas in the Latin translation, because I feel certain that this is what Herrera used.

Page 290. "Ἑλεός es ave nocturna en Aristoteles lib. 8. cap. 3. dela istoria, que la dizen *ulula* los Latinos."

"Ἑλεός quoque ea est nocturna avis apud Aristotelem, quam nos ululam dicimus." Scaliger, *Poet.* I. 50.

Nota. Herrera adduces this, just as Scaliger does, in discussing the etymology of *elegy*.

Page 316. "Los 3 cabos de Sicilia. Paquino que mira a la Morea, dicho assi del grueso aire, que ái enel, i por la espessura de las nieblas, que se engendran sobre el, porque *παχός* significa en Griego lo que en Latin crasso o grueso."

"Pachynum est promontorium Siciliae austrum spectans. Unde et Pachynum dictum, ab aeris crassitudine. Nam *παχός* est crassus, pinguis." Serv. in *Aen.* III. 699.

Page 356. "Llamose Trápana antiguamente Drépano, por la postura del sitio, que alli haze la ribera torcida i encorvada. o segun otros, por el nombre de la hoz, que se llama drépano en Griego, la cual arrojò Saturno en aquel lugar."

"Drepanum civitas est . . . dicta vel propter curvaturam litoris, in quo sita est, vel quod Saturnus post ampu-

tata virilia Coelo patri illuc falcem proiecit." Serv. in *Aen.* III. 707.

Page 366. "Omero el primero llamó Thyche a la fortuna."

"Ac Fortunae quidem (cui Thyches apud Graecos nomen) poetarum primus, quod sciam, mentionem fecit Homerus hymno in Cererem." Pausan. *Graec. Desc.* IV. 30, 3.

Nota. The words in parentheses are of course not found in the Greek. Romolo Amaseo puts them in as explanatory. The Hymn to Demeter was lost early, and was known to the scholars of the Renaissance only by references like this one in Pausanias. Of course it is not by Homer, for the word *τύχη* is not found at all in the Iliad or the Odyssey, much less a personification. If Herrera was really well acquainted with Macrobius, it is very strange that this passage from the *Saturnalia* (V. 16, 8 ed. Iani) did not occur to him: "Fortunam Homerus nescire maluit, et soli decreto, quam *μοῖραν* vocat, omnia regenda committit, adeo ut hoc vocabulum *τύχη* in nulla parte Homerici voluminis nominetur." Xylander made the same remark on the very passage (Paus. iv. 30) from which Herrera has borrowed. Moreover, as Pausanias mentions *in loco*, the Tyche of the Hymn to Demeter is, like the other sea-nymphs, a daughter of Oceanos. Now, if Herrera knew Pindar at all, as he professes, he must have been aware that the royal Tyche who sways and changes the affairs of all this world, was the daughter of Zeus (Pind. *Olymp.* XII. 1: *παῖ Ζηνός . . . Σώτειρα Τύχη*). It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that Herrera made a statement about a matter of which he knew nothing.

Page 367. "Omero en el 5. dela Iliada llama a Marte *βροτολαγός, μηφόνος* [sic] *τειχεσειλήτης*, que sinifica pestilencia de ombres, ensangrentado en muertes, destruidor de muros."

“Mars, Mars, hominum pestis, sanguinarie, moeniorum eversor.” Clement of Alex. *Cohort.*, p. 24 ed. Potter.

Nota. The works of Clement of Alexandria were published in the Latin translation of Gentianus Hervetus (with scholia) by Froben at Basel in 1556; and at Paris, 1566 and 1572. Now we know that Herrera had read the *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, for on pag. 331, note on *Oëta*, he says: “refiere su muerte [i. e. Hercules'] Clemente Alexandrino en la oracion esortatoria a las gentes.” This citation is from a passage only a page further on than the one to which I refer. What proves that Herrera took this from Clement (I mean Hervetus' translation) is the “destruidor de muros” which is exactly “moeniorum eversor,” whereas the Greek *τειχεσυνλήτης* is stormer of walls (literally, approacher of walls).

Page 433. “Fue Pierio, a quien Caras escritor de la istoria Griega, haze hijo de Lino, antiquissimo, pero no umilde, ni oscuro poeta.”

Nota. This is a mere show of learning, all taken from Suidas' article *Ὀμηρος*. Herrera seems to have had but a shadowy idea of who or what Charax was. Suidas begins his article: “The order of descent according to the historian Charax is as follows.” Then he gives the mythological generations from Aethusa to Homer. But Herrera has not put down the name correctly. It should be Pierus, not Pierius.

Page 436. “Los Griegos llaman *χάρητα* a la venustidad, que es perfecion de hermosura, i esta atribuye Tulio a las mugeres.”

“Est enim Venustas, quam Graeci *χάρητα* vocant, pulchritudinis perfectio, quare Venustatem mulieribus attribuit Cicero.” Scaliger, *Poet.* IV. 1.

Nota. Scaliger's reference is to Cicero, *De Offic.* I. 36 init.

Page 442. The story of Endymion. "Escribe Esiodo que fue llevado por Iupiter al cielo, i encendido en amor de Iuno; fue engañado con un idolo hecho de una nube, i arrojado del cielo, cayò en la region inferior. Epimenides tiene, que habitando entre los dioses, se enamorò perdidamente de Iuno, i enojandose Iupiter dello; le pidio, que le concediesse sueño perpetuo. Ibico trae que fue señor de Elis."

"Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Μεγάλαις Ἡοίαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνερχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανόν· ἐρασθέντα δὲ Ἡρας εἰδῶλω παραλογισθῆναι [τὸν ἔρωτα] νεφέλης καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἶδον. . . . Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ αὐτὸν παρὰ θεοῖς διατρίβοντα ἐρασθῆναι φησι τῆς Ἡρας, διόπερ Διὸς χαλεπήσαντος αἰτήσασθαι διαπαντὸς καθεύδειν. Ἰβυκος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Ἡλίδος αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι φησι." Schol. on Apol. Rhod. iv. 57.

Nota. I have set down the parts of the scholium which are reproduced in Herrera's note. He does not know the scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes at first hand, for I believe they had not been translated into Latin. Herrera draws from somebody's Latin note. This is very evident from the way in which he says that 'Hesiod writes.' If he had been copying directly from the scholium we may be sure that he would have said, 'Hesiod writes in the Great Eoiae.' At the end we should have had 'Ibico trae enel 1.' Herrera gives almost invariably the name of the book and the place referred to, when he can. Of course I do not mean to say that the references are like an accurate modern citation. But it is something like 'Virgilio enel 2.' or 'Estasino en las cosas de Cypre,' almost always. Also it is not Herrera's manner to omit two or three good classical names when they are before him. Now, in this scholium I have indicated by dashes a passage in which the scholiast says that "Sappho and Nicander, in the 2nd book of his Europa, relate the story of Luna's (Selene's) love," etc. I can think of no case where Herrera cuts out. His tendency always is to bring in even irrelevant matter, so long as it gives a learned look to his note.

Finally, he says that "Ibycus relates that Endymion was lord of Elis. The Greek 'βασιλεῦσαι Ἠλίδος' with the Spanish 'fue senor de Elis' rather implies that the Greek has gone through a translation which changed Endymion from 'King of Elis' into 'lord of Elis' (dominare, or something similar).

Page 549. Herrera explains Vergil's "*Geminae Somni portae*" as follows: "La una destas es de cuerno, i denota los ojos, que son de aquel color i mas duros que los de mas miembros, como los que no sienten frio, segun dize Tulio enel 2. de la naturaleza de los dioses. por esta puerta sale la verdad, que es por la vista; porque lo que vemos sin duda es verdad. i assi se le atribuyen los sueños verdaderos, que dizen los poetas; porque el cuerno adelgazado se haze perspicuo i trasparente. la otra *eburnea*, que es de marfil denso i fragil, i se da a los sueños vanos, para que entendamos conforme ala opinion antigua algunas vezes las visiones noturnas ser engañosas i otras verdaderas; sinifica la boca, porque los dientes son de aquel color, i sabemos que lo que se habla puede ser falso."

"Est autem in hoc loco Homerum secutus [i. e. Vergilius]. . . . Physiologia vero hoc habet: Per portam corneam oculi significantur, qui et cornei sunt coloris, et duriores ceteris membris. Nam frigus non sentiunt: sicut etiam Cicero dicit in libris de Deorum Natura [2,57]. Per eburneam vero portam os significatur a dentibus. Et scimus quia, quae loquimur falso esse possunt: ea vero quae videmus, sine dubio vera sunt." Servius in *Aen.* VI. 894.

Nota. Nowadays we should call this wholesale taking without any acknowledgment, rank plagiarism. The references to Homer and Cicero; the entire explanation,—Herrera has taken it all, and repeated it, as though it were original.

Pages 597-8. " Son las Gracias criadas de Venus, i siguen su compañía. sinifican verdura, alegría, resplandor, que son tres propiedades, que consiguen la belleza Ideal. a estas llaman Chárites los Griegos porque *χαρὰ* es alegría i gozo. unos las hazen hijas de Iupiter i Eurinome hija de Oceano; i assi lo dize Apolodoro en el primero, otros de Eurimedúsa, o Euridomene, i algunos de Iuno, otros de Libero padre i Venus. Orfeo en el ino, que canta a las Gracias, las llama hijas de Iupiter i Eunomia, i a esta nombra Esíodo Euri-nómene, por l'ampla distribucion de las cosas. Antímaco quiere, que sean hijas de Egle i del Sol. Eurinome sinifica estendida i abundosa distribucion; porque *εὐρὸν* es ancho i estendido, i *νέμω* lo mesmo que distribúyo. Eurimedúsa se trae de *μέδω*, que es reino o impéro. Euridomene, de *δομέω*, que es edífico, compongo i ordéno. los nombres de las Gracias, que les dio Esíodo en la Teogonia, si es suya, porque Pausanias lo pone en duda, son estos; Aglaya, Eufrosíne, Talía; i esta se llama de otra manera Egíale. Omero haze una dellas a Pasitéa, que algunos piensan, que es Eufrosíne. Suidas trae estas, Pitò, Aglaya, Eufrosíne; i Ermesianas poeta élego fue el primero, que llamò Pitò a una dellas. Aglaya se interpreta luz i esplendor, *ἀγλαὰς* es lo mesmo que resplandeciente i ilustre. a esta podemos llamar magestad o venustidad. Eufrosíne se deduze de *εὐφρένω* que es lo mesmo que alégro, quiere dezir alegre i bien acondicionada. podemos atribuille el plazer i jocundidad i alegría del'anima; porque el dar quiere gracia i alegría. Talía denota siempre verde i florida i llena de frescura. toca a esta la festividad, donaire, concinidad i apostura i adereço. dixeron los antiguos, que eran dos; porque se à de dar i bolver el beneficio. otros tres, porque el bien recebido à de bolver con logro; i por esso fingen a la que recibe el beneficio buelto el rostro; porque no se espére remuneracion del bien, que se haze. las que lo buelven, i

recompensan, son dos, que se miran de rostro; porque la remuneracion à de ser diligente i cuidadosa i doblada. pintavan las moças de poca edad, porque no se à de envejecer la memoria del beneficio; virgenes, porque an de ser los beneficios sinceros i inviolables; desnudas, porque como dize Servio, las Gracias an de ser sin afeite i sin compostura, o, como siente Suidas, se à de hazer bien premio i sin interes. Eteócles Orcomenio fue el primero, que sacrificò a las Gracias, como escribe Pausanias en el libro nono de la Grecia ilustrada, i dize, que no sabe quien fue el primero, que pintò, o escrivio desnudas a las Gracias; porque los poetas i pintores antiguos las descrivieron vestidas."

Nota. I have set down this long, confused note entire. Everything in it comes from Pausanias IX. 35 and Servius in *Aen.* I. 720. Pausanias in fact furnishes everything that has any interest or value. Servius supplies merely the foolish symbolical explanations. Herrera furnishes nothing except the confused narration and the wearisome verbosity.

Page 670. Herrera in telling the story of Adonis says: "Esiodo lo haze hijo de Fenis i Alfesibea; Paníasis, de Toante rei de Assiria i de su hija Mirra."

"Ἡσιόδος δὲ αὐτὸν Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεισιβοίας λέγει. Πανίαςις δὲ φησι θεῖαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν." Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III. 14, 3.

Nota. As has been shown in the 1st section, Herrera without doubt used the Latin translation of Apollodorus. The purpose here is merely to show the wholesale appropriation.

Page 683. "Ni se deve condenar Pindaro en la oda 3. de los Olimpios, ni Calimaco en el ino a Diana, ni Euripides en la Ifigenia, por aver dado cuernos a la cierva."

Nota. This is an interesting passage, because it shows that Herrera did not know the play of Iphigenia at Aulis.

He made his statement on the authority of Aelian, *Hist. Animal.* VII. 39, who quotes a different ending from the one which the play now has. The Pindar also is from Aelian.

Page 689. Herrera, after telling the myth of Hercules and the poplar leaves blackened by the smoke of Hades, continues: "Otra declaracion ài desta fabula en los escritores Griegos, que Ercules trasfirio a Grecia el povo dela region de Tesprotis cerca del rio Aqueronte, que riega aquella region, i por esso se dixo que traxo el Povo delos infiernos, porque es rio dellos, i aludiendo Omero a esto llamò Acheroida al Povo."

"Eam [i. e. the poplar] Hercules e Thesprotide primus in Graeciam attulit. . . . Eam vero arborem Hercules in Thesprotide propter amnem Acherontem reperit. Et huc respexisse Homerum putant quum Acheroidem populum appellavit." Pausan. *Gr. Des.* V. 14, 3.

Nota. Observe how Herrera begins with a vague reference to 'the Greek writers.' It has a learned sound, and is much more imposing than a simple reference to Pausanias.

Pausanias refers to Homer's simile (*Il.* 13, 389):

Ἦριπε δ' ὧς δτε τις δρύς ἤριπεν, ἥ ἀχερώϊς.

A couple of examples of Herrera's ostentatious ignorance now follow:

Page 168. "Se engañaron los que traxaron de Pausanias que Marca es cavallo en la lengua Galica; porque se devia leer en Pausanias, en la descripcion de Focis, Mar, que denota cavallo a los Galos i Cimbros, i no Marc. i no aciertan todos los que deste lugar creen que Marca es cavallo." What a pity that Jacob Grimm did not know this!

On page 269 Herrera writes what seems to me one of the most absurd notes in the book. Garcilasso in his 5th cancion has the following lines:

“Porti el mayor amigo
 l'es importuno, grave i enojoso;
 yo puedo ser testigo;
 que ya del peligroso
 naufragio fui su puerto i su reposo.”

The lines seem to me to be a graceful variation of the themes of Horaces' eighth Ode and of the end of the fifth, in Bk. I. But Herrera picks out the word 'puerto' for the following comment: “El puerto en que las naves propriamente estan guardadas i seguras, es (como escribe Ulpiano) lugar cerrado, donde aportan i se traen las mercaderias, i iviernan las naves. Por traslacion, como en este lugar, se usurparà por seguro estado de cosas, o por otro cualquiera, do no se tema algun peligro.” Imagine Matthew Arnold quoting Grotius or Puffendorf or Vattel to explain high-seas and by 'traslacion' Hamlet's 'sea of troubles'!

In truth, the criticism of the writer of the article *Herrera* in *La Grande Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, seems just to the point: “Herrera écrivait un commentaire sur les oeuvres de Garcilasso . . . travail lourd, dans lequel les remarques multipliées étouffent les vers du plus harmonieux des poètes espagnols.”

III.

Let us now turn to the third part of the inquiry, and consider some of the mistakes made by Herrera.

Page 87. “Los Griegos llaman *μάρμαρον* al mar, por el resplandor i color del' agua comovida.”

Nota. It has been pointed out in part 2. of this paper, that Herrera merely takes this in a wholesale borrowing from Scaliger (*Poet.* IV. 16); still, if Herrera were really acquainted at all well with the Iliad and the famous passage in Odyssey IX. 494-9, he would know that “*ἄκριβεις μάρμαρος*” is a Homeric formula, like “*βοῶν ἀγαθός*” or “*λευκώλενος Ἥρη*.”

Μαρμάρεος, the adjective, is the word which is used to express the shimmer of the sea. Hypnos in Iliad XIV. 273, tells Hera to swear, touching the ἄλα μαρμαρέην (as a witness).

Page 88. "Dize Estrabon enel lib. i. que los poetas mostravan que los Eróes eran singularmente sabios, porque peregrinavan por muchos lugares, atravessando largos caminos."

Strabo (I. p. 8) does not say this, His words are: "οἱ γοῦν ποιηταὶ φρονιμωτάτους τῶν ἡρώων ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας πολλαχοῦ καὶ πλανηθέντας." There is a very important difference between saying that "the heroes were very wise because they wandered about in many places" and "those of the heroes who wandered about in many places away from home, were the wisest."

Herrera makes Strabo say what is not true.

Some of the heroes did not wander about in many places. Strabo's allusion is very evidently to Odysseus and to the opening lines of the Odyssey. Herrera takes all the point away.

Page 102. "Platon i Fornuto dizem que se apellida ἔρως de la inquisicion i busca que se haze de lo que se ama; porque ἔρεῖν vale por ζητεῖν que es inquirer."

Nota. In the *Cratylus*, p. 398 D, Socrates gives his jesting etymology of ἔρως: "ἥρως: ἔρωτᾶν, and adds, τὸ γὰρ ἱρεῖν λέγεῖν ἐστίν. There is no such verb as ἔρεῖν, so far as I know. The whole passage seems to show that Herrera was equally ignorant of Plato and of Greek. It looks at though Herrera trusted to Antonio Minturno rather than to Plato for this remarkable word ἔρεῖν, for on page 103 he writes: "pero Antonio Minturno enel panegírico lo [i. e. Eros] llama assi, porque aprieta i liga juntamente i confuerça los coraçones nobles i gentiles de suerte que de dos se haze

uno. i no consiente que por otra causa le digan los Griegos *ἔρως*; si no porque liga i ata con estrechissimos nudos las animas apartadas. porque *ἔρειν* pronunciado con espiritu denso sinifica ligar o atar." Such are the waters in which Herrera fishes for Greek!

Page 154. "Orfeo i Pindaro en los Olimpico lo [i. e. Jupiter] llaman *ἀργικεράννος* [sic] . . . i en otra parte se dize *ἀρχικεράννος* [sic].

Nota. I give this as a sample of slipshod printing (though the 1580 edit. is revised [?] and has a long list of *Errata*) and of slipshod reference. To what does "en otra parte" refer, to Pindar, to Orpheus, or to both?

As a matter of fact, Pindar calls Zeus *ἀργικεράννος* (Olymp. VIII. 4), but not *ἀρχικεράννος*: Both forms appear in the quotation by different ancient writers of the famous Orphic verse, *Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικεράννος*. But who would ever know this from the way in which Herrera puts it? Probably, however, he did not know, but merely borrowed somebody's dictum.

Page 157. Herrera gives us the Spanish translation of an epitaph ascribed to Plato:

"D'Eubea fuimos, de linage Eretrios,
mas yazemos en Susa sepultados;
ai, o tan leños dela patria nuestra."

Nota. The original is in the Greek Anthology, (lib. vii, n. 259) and runs as follows:

Εὐβοίης γένος ἐσμὲν Ἐρετρικὸν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων κείμεθα· φεῖν, γαίης ὅσσον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης.

"En Susa" certainly does not render "*ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων*." However, I see no reason to doubt that Herrera had only a Latin translation before him.

Page 188. "Fue ilustre este monte con dos cumbres, i assi lo llamò *δικόρυφον* Euripides.

Nota. Euripides didn't call Parnassus *δικόρυφον*. In the *Phoenissae* 227, he speaks of the *δικόρυφον σέλας*, the gleam of fire from the twin crags above the temple; and in the *Bacchae* he speaks of the *δικόρυφος πλάξ*, the great stretch of uplands which slope from the twin crags up to the real peak of Parnassos. Herrera shared in the common opinion of his time about Parnassos, an opinion derived from the Roman poets.

Page 190. "Los Griegos lo [i. e. Destiny] llaman πεπρωμένη, ο εἰμαρμένη, i piensa Aristoteles que se dixo assi porque se acaban por el todas las cosas, i son estatuidas por una cierta lei, i traídas casi a su fin; porque περατώ significa término; ἐρώ, trayo."

Nota. Aristotle (*De Mund.* cap. 7) derives εἰμαρμένη from εἶρειν; πεπρωμένη from περατώ. There is nothing about ἐρώ. Still, in a case just like this, it is only fair to suspend judgment until we are sure that no text of Aristotle gave ἐρώ in Herrera's time.

Page 240. Herrera discusses the words *ιερός* and *sacer*, and closes his note by saying: "porque *ιερόν*, que como trae Plutarco en el libro de la prudencia de los brutos terrestres i acuátiles, despues sinificò sacro a los Griegos; sinificava grande a los mas antiguos."

Nota. Plutarch does not say this: all that he does say is that "some think *sacred* means great" (*μέγαν τινὲς οἰονταὶ τὸν ἱερόν*. *De Solertia Anim.* cap. 32).

Page 253. "A este encendido temor de la desonra llama Platon verguença divina." Then Herrera quotes Aristotle, in his *Ethics*, as not counting *shame* among the virtues, and establishes a contrast between the views of the two great philosophers concerning shame (*αἰδώς*).

Now this contrast is all based on a mistake of Herrera's

as to what Plato really did say. The passage is in The Laws (p. 671 D.) where the Athenian speaks of laws which shall be able to inculcate fear in the mind of the **unseemly man** *ὃν αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην θεῖον φόβον ὀνομάκαμεν*, which fear (composed of) reverence and shame we have called a divine fear (Jowett: "being that divine fear which we have called reverence and shame").

From the whole tone of Herrera's note compared with the passage in Plato, I am of the opinion that he does not quote from the Laws, but from somebody's quotation of the sentence. In a word, Plato's conception is Hellenic: Herrera's is chivalrous, full of the pundonor.

Page 273. "Tarasino o Estasino escritor de las cosas de Cipre en verso eróico, haze a Némesis madre de Elena."

Nota. Whence Herrera derived the strange name Tarasino, I am unable to discover. The verses of Stasinus which give us the information in question have been preserved by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* viii. 10, p. 334. Athenaeus speaks of *ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κύπριός τις ἐστίν, ἢ Στασίνος, κ.τ.λ.* There is nothing resembling the form Tarasino. Further, we see in how ignorant a fashion Herrera uses these bits of information which he gathers and displays so freely. He speaks of the poem of Stasinus as "las cosas de Cipre," whereas it has absolutely nothing to do with Cyprus in the way of treating of its affairs. It narrates the causes which led up to the Trojan war, and is called "the Cyprian verses" either because in it is set forth the might of Aphrodite, the Cyprian goddess, or because it was thought by some that Hegesias of Cyprus wrote it. The poem was lost, like the other poems of the Epic Cycle, and we have only a few fragments, and an abstract of the contents made by a grammarian, Proclus, who is supposed to have lived in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. See Munro's Appendix to the *Odys.* xiii-xxiv. pag. 341 *seq.*

Page 290. "Es comun opinion delos Griegos, que esta poesia Melica se llama elegedia, porque, como escribe Misimblo, se juntavan en Lesbos las musas a las celebraciones funerales, i alli solian lamentar."

Nota. I cannot find the source of this remarkable statement. No name is known to me among the Greek writers that could well be twisted into Misimblo. Finally, there is no such word in the Greek language, I believe, as *elegedia*.

Page 316. "Los Teretismas que son las danças i bailes lácivos i provocadores de la desonestidad."

Nota. This very absurd statement has been criticized in the 1st section. *Τερέτισμα* is not an uncommon word in Greek. Aristotle uses it several times, and if Herrera had read him in Greek, this mistake would not have been made.

Page 332. "Alcides, dicho assi del nombre de su abuelo Alceo, hijo de Perseo i Andromeda, como siente Eródoto."

Nota. On the contrary, Herodotus (I. 7.) calls Alcaeus the son of Heracles.

Page 359. "Licofron las [i. e. the Sirens] llama linage de Harpias, lo cual dio ocasion a los interpretes, para dezir unos que eran sus hijas, otros, que tenian alas."

Nota. This passage is the best proof in the world that Herrera knew no Greek worth mentioning. In Lycophron's *Cassandra*, ver. 653, we read: 'Ἀρπυιογόνων κλώμακας τ' ἀηδόνων, literally: "the stone-heap of the harpy-legged nightingales." Herrera, or the one from whom he copied, made the absurd mistake of supposing that ἀρπυιογόνων meant of harpy-lineage, or harpy-born.

If Herrera really had read the scholia, as he seems to imply (see note on p. 273 of Garcilasso, where Herrera cites *Isacio*, i. e. Isaac Tzetzes), he would have avoided this foolish mistake, for Tzetzes explains it clearly (τὰ κάτω μέρη ὀρνίθων

ἔχουσαι). Herrera continues as follows: "Omero pone dos Sirenas segun Eustacio i sin nombre [i. e. Σειρήναι, Odys. XII. 167]. Esiodo tres, si es suya la Teogonia, que son Telxiope, o conforme a otros codices Telxinone, Molpe, Aglaofóna."

Nota. This strange statement about Hesiod would seem to show clearly that Herrera had not read the Theogony, or else that he was confusing Hesiod with some other writer. The Sirens are not mentioned at all in the Theogony. They are mentioned only in fragments 136, 137 (Didot edit.) and even there neither names nor number are given.

"Desde el pecho arriba tenian [i. e. the Sirens] forma de mugeres, i de alli abaxo de gallinas, i no de paxaros como pensaron algunos: porque στρουθὸν llamavan los antiguos a la gallina, i no [al] paxaro, segun se ve en Nicandro afe-tador del uso de las voces olvidadas."

Nota. In the *Alexipharmaca* 535, Nicander gives, among other valuable recipes to be taken inwardly, πᾶτον στρουθοῖο κατοικίδος, hens' dung. Of course it is the addition of the κατοικίης (domestic) that makes στρουθίς mean hen. Any schoolboy could tell Herrera that the Greeks in the *Anabasis* didn't chase hens in the Syrian desert, as they marched down the Euphrates.

At the bottom of page 359 Herrera writes: "Si creemos a Paléfato estas [i. e. the Sirens] eran mugeres de vida libre i desonesta."

Nota. Palaephatus, in the *Incredibilia*, has nothing to this effect, I believe. Servius says so in his Comment. on *Aeneid* V. 864.

Page 366. "Omero el primero llamó Thyche a la fortuna. del verbo τύχω que significa hazer."

Nota. There is no verb τύχω: it should be τεύχω. Of course this etymology is incorrect. See note on this passage in Section II. for a discussion of the statement as to Tyche.

Page 367. The Homeric word *μαυφόνος* is put down as *μυφόνος*.

Page 405. "Las Eglogas, llamadas propriamente Eglogas [Eclogas?] de *ἐκλογίζω* [sic] verbo Griego, que enel language Romano sinifica seligo."

Nota. There is no form *ἐκλογίζω*. The verb is a deponent, *ἐκλογίζομαι*. Of course, *ἐκλογή* comes from *ἐκλέγω*, not from *ἐκλογίζομαι*.

Page 421. "Coronis que quiere dezir corneja."

Nota. The Greek word for crow is *κορώνη*, not *κορωνίς*. Herrera has repeated this blunder on page 431, by citing the adage as 'Daulia coronis.'

Page 425. On the meaning of the word Tityrus Herrera writes: "el espositor de Teocrito lo declara lento, ocioso; de donde aludio Virgilio a la etimologia en la egloga—tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra."

Nota. This strange and absurd statement came from a corrupt form in the scholion on Theocritus Idyl. 3, 2: *τοὺς ἀργοὺς τετύρους λέγονται*. Reinesius corrected this by reading *τράγους* instead of *ἀργούς*.

Page 565. "Omero llama sordas las ondas, i assi dize *κῆμα κωφὸν*, sorda onda, a cuya imitacion dixo Oracio enla cancion 7 del lib. 3.

porque mas sordo que las peñas d'Icaro oye las voces.

Nota. The references are to Homer, Iliad XIV. 16; and to Horace, Od. III. 7, 21.

Homer compares the hesitation of Nestor to a great, still wave, which seems to stand still until the wind drives it on.

The point of Horace's comparison is that Gyges is as deaf to the love-making of Chloe as the rocks of the island Icarus. What shall we say of the rudimentary knowledge, to say nothing of the literary taste and discrimination, of the man

who tells us that Horace was imitating Homer here? What opinion shall we form of the Greek acquirements of Herrera, when he tells us that *κῦμα κωφόν* means 'sorda onda'? It is as bad, although not so amusing, as the famous schoolboy translation of Vergil's words, "triste lupus stabulis," the sad wolf came to the sheepfold.

Page 589. "Hadas: estas son las Parcas. . . . Esiodo dixo que eran hijas dela noche i Erebo."

Nota. Hesiod (Theog. 211) mentions Nyx as bringing them forth. Erebos is not mentioned. In Theog. 901-4, Zeus and Themis are the parents of the Moerae or Parcae.

Of course, the reason for the two contradictory statements in the Theogony is that it is the work of different authors.

Page 598. "Euridomene [se trae] de *δομέω*, que es *edífico*, compongo i ordéno."

Nota. There is no Greek verb *δομέω*. And what shall we say to Herrera's accenting the Latin verb *aedifico* as he does?

A little further down the page, he tells us that "Eufrosíne se deduze de *εὐφρένω* que es lo mesmo que alégro."

Nota. There is no Greek verb *εὐφρένω*.

Note, too, that Herrera always accents Euphrosýne as if it were Euphrosýne. On the other hand Pherecýdes, he always accents Ferécides (pp. 305, 411, 662).

It may be stated here that the book is full of wrong accents. It would be hard to tell how far they are due to the compositor. Such a blunder as inverting the *λ* in *μεσόμεφαλον* (p. 188) is undoubtedly the compositor's fault, But many are doubtful. For instance, we have *ἄηρ* (p. 113); *λάρναξ* (p. 188); *Dióscuros* (p. 273); *Cratílo* (p. 300); *Melpoméne*, *Eráto*, *Polinía*, *Uranía* (p. 300); *κρυός* (p. 308); *διός* [for *διος*] (p. 569); *Pasitéa* (p. 598); *δυνάμις* (p. 654); *Climéne* (pp. 654, 670); *Ermesiánas*, i. e. *Hermesiānax* (p. 661); *Gorgías* (p. 160).

Page 599. "Intonso: épiteto de Apolo, quiere dezir no cortado el cabello. Omero lo llamò *ακερκεκόμης* [sic] que es intonso en sermon Latino, porque nunca los rayos (dize Macrobio) se pueden arrancar dela frente del Sol; i por esso lo fingen con cabellos: i assi lo nombran *ακερκεκόμης*."

Nota. Everything but the blunder in the form of the word is from Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. 17, 47. A blunder like this twice within three lines in a revised edition is pretty bad.

Page 627. "Linfas; lo mesmo es linfa en Griego, que agua en nuestra lingua."

Nota. There is no such word in Greek. The word belongs to Italy.

Page 661. "Amonio dize que fue hijo [i. e. that Orpheus was son] de Apolo."

Nota. Ammonius, a literary man of Alexandria in the third century B. C., wrote commentaries on Pindar, of which only fragments have come down to us by being quoted in later Greek scholia. Now in the scholion on Pindar, Pyth. IV. 176, Ammonius is quoted as explaining very carefully that Pindar, when he calls Orpheus a phorminx-player from Apollo (*ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ φορμικτᾶς*), does not mean that he is born from Apollo, but that he has the gift of music from the god of music.

Page 669. "Como siente Platon se llamò Apolo de *πάλλειν* que es arrojar."

Nota. In the *Cratylus* p. 405 C., Socrates playfully derives Apollo from *διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ βολῶν ἐγκρατῆς εἶναι*.

Page 672. "Las rosas: se llama *ρόδος* en Griego."

Nota. The word is always neuter, *ρόδον*.

Page 683. "Eródoto i Opiano en el 2. dicen que los [i. e. stags] cria Africa."

Nota. Herodotus, IV. 192, says exactly the other thing (πλὴν ἐλάφου).

SEC. IV. In entering into a consideration of Herrera's familiarity with Greek literature, whether he read it in Greek, or in Latin (as I believe he did), we must have in mind, and remember through all our investigations, that the literature of Rome is modeled after Greek types, so that not only the usual myths and traditions and allusions of Grecian literature reappear in Latin dress, but also many of the great passages of the Greek poets are reproduced with more or less felicity by the Latin. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the model is Latin or Greek, when a later poet imitates classical models. Let us take the following lines from lib. 2. eleg. 4 of Herrera's poems, to illustrate just what is meant:

“Etna, que el duro ielo i frio siente
 En sus coronas altas ensalzado,
 Y con el blanco velo reluciente,
 Cuando del impio Encelado abrasado,
 Es con serpientes asperas herido,
 Y se revuelve de uno y otro lado;
 El fuego en nube espesa reducido
 De ardientes globos y furor humoso,
 Arroja con horrisono estampido.
 El estruendo de peñas tempestoso
 Con alto horror resuena en torno y brama,
 Y tiembla todo el monte cavernoso.”

We read this, and at first it seems as if we must turn to Pindar (Pyth. I.) for the first part. The passage is Vergilian (I beg Vergil's pardon! I mean an imitation of the *Aeneid* III. 571-582) all but the first three lines. But there is nothing about snow or frost in Vergil's picture.

Is the opening of the passage Pindaric?

"Duro hielo y frio en sus coronas altas" and "il blanco velo reluciente" seems rather poor to have come from

"Νιφέσσ' Αἴθνα, πάνετες
χρόνος ὀξείας τιβήνα."

Does it? Let us look at some lines from Claudian's *Raptus Proserpinae*, lib. I, ver. 164:

"Sed, quamvis nimio fervens exuberet aestu,
Scit nivibus servare fidem, pariterque favillis
Durescit glacies, tanti securo vaporis,
Arcano defensa gelu; fumoque fideli
Lambit contiguas innoxia flamma pruinas."

Here, drawn out through five lines, we have Herrera's favorite antithesis of fire and water; in this case, congealed water.

I think that Claudian gives Herrera the idea for his first three lines.

Of course, the atrocious comparison with which Herrera continues is the offspring of his own corrupted taste. No classic author of old times was ever guilty of this sort of thing:

"Mi pecho, que de fuera es nieve, y llama
Dentro, cuando el amor lo mueve y hiere,
Gime, y sonando el bravo ardor derrama."

Not only must we keep this infiltration of Greek poetry into Latin in mind, but also the enormous amount of Greek words, lines, and thoughts which was imbedded in the notes of commentators on the different Latin classics.

Take as an illustrious example, and therefore having many commentators and many notes, the poems of Vergil: beginning with the Roman edition of 1469, the editio princeps, we have editions coming from the presses at Venice, Milan, Rome, Florence, Brescia, Parma, Modena, even from little Fivezano in Tuscany. After 1500 the flood increases. The cities north of the Alps are printing the poet

with the commentaries of Servius and Donatus;—London, Paris, Cologne, Basel, Strasburg, and many other places. And every day the list of commentators was growing longer.

Space will allow me to mention only two books which may well have served to furnish Herrera with much of his Greek learning, such as it is. The first is printed at Hagenau in 1529: "In Bucolica et Georgica Adnotationes, ac loci omnes maxime Theocriti, tum etiam Hesiodi quidem, quibus usus est Virgilius, Latine redditi per Eobanum Hesum." The second is a folio edition of Vergil printed at Basel in 1561: "Bucolica, Georgica et Aeneis, cum veris Donati et Servii et Probi commentariis, a Georg. Fabricio emendatis: notis etiam recent. Pompon. Sabini, Phil. Beroaldi, Is. Hartungi, Iodoc. Willichii, Georg. Fabricii, Bonfinis, Vivis, Coelii Rhodigini, Barlandi, Scopae, Const. Campani, Crucii et aliorum." We see here clearly that the age of the multifarious 'Variorum' editions is in full swing. I have mentioned Vergil as the prince of poets: but this same sort of thing, in a smaller measure, was being done for all the Latin writers.

After this rather long preface, I wish to make some inquiry into Herrera's acquaintance with the great writers of Greece, following in the main the chronological order, and beginning with Homer.

I shall take Herrera's poetry first, and the rest of the paper will deal with his notes on Garcilasso.

After a careful reading of Herrera's poems, I can mention only one passage where his allusion seems to be taken from an immediate Greek source. In the 1st *cancion* of the 1st book, he writes:

" Ven a mi humilde ruego,
Ven a mi humilde ruego, oh, amor de aquella
Que Juno te ofrecio, tu ninfa bella!"

The *cancion* is addressed "Al Sueño," and the lines evi-

dently refer to the *Iliad* XIV. 267; where Juno offers to give one of the Charites, Pasithea, to Hypnos in marriage. Even this, though, I do not think Herrera drew directly from the *Iliad*, but from Pausanias IX. 35. My reasons for thinking so, I shall give when I discuss Pausanias.

Now let us turn to the Notes on Garcilasso. In them the name Homer occurs 22 times (pp. 82, 88, 135, 154, 155 *bis*, 160, 256, 334, 359, 366, 367 *bis*, 406, 548, 565, 598, 599, 654, 681, 682, 689). Twelve of these references (in italic type) are quoted in passages from some other author, as for example on p. 88 where Herrera quotes Strabo, in whom occurs the reference to Homer. The other references are trivial, and no more imply an acquaintance with Homer than the use of the word Shylock implies that the user has read 'The Merchant of Venice,' or is familiar with Shakespeare's plays. In fact, so far as we can draw conclusions, they seem to point the other way. For instance, on page 135, Herrera says: "Omero da questo epiteto [i. e. Phaethon] al Sol, ἥλιος φαέθων." Now I cannot imagine a reader of Homer putting down a form which will not scan, and which is never found in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The phrase is always ἥελιος φαέθων. Even ἥλιος alone is found only in the *Odyssey* 8, 271, and is so noticeable that the Scholiast (in loco) comments on it as a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, and adds ἥελιος γὰρ αἰεί φησιν Ἰακώς.

Let us take another instance. On p. 155 Herrera writes: "Omero dize que Vulcano decendio cayendo del aire. . . . Arrojólo Iupiter, como sienten Omero i Valerio Flaco, porque (segun es autor Apolodoro, en el lib. 1. [i. e. Biblioth. I. 3, 5]) quiso socorrer a Iuno que estava en cadenas," etc. . . . "i cayò en Lenos. i de alli quedò coxo, i Tetis lo salvò de peligro." Anyone who will compare *Iliad*. 18, 395 seq. and 1, 590 with Herrera's account, will see that they don't agree at all. According to Homer, Vulcan is born lame

and deformed. His mother, Juno, is ashamed of him, and drops him from Olympus into the sea. Thetis catches him in her lap and saves him. She takes him down into the caves of Oceanus, and there educates him. After nine years Vulcan returns to Olympus. Later, when he tries to help Juno, Jupiter throws him down, and this time he falls upon the island of Lemnos.

According to Herrera, Vulcan, after he is grown, tries to help Juno, and is thrown by Jupiter down upon Lemnos. The fall lames him, but Thetis saves him from peril. Now, in the Homeric account all is consistent: Thetis saves a mere baby from real peril of starvation. But in Herrera's story the thing is absurd. From what peril does Thetis save him? Herrera's whole account is taken, not from Homer at all, but from Apollodorus. Herrera likes to jingle names of authors in the ears of the reader.

On page 256 Herrera gives allegorical explanations of the story of Mars and Venus (Odys. 8, 266), and says: "Finge Omero que bolvieron en concordia despues del' antigua enemistad." It is a pity that Herrera has not told us where Homer has fabled all this. As a matter of fact Homer hasn't done anything of the kind.

I have already mentioned (in sect. III) Herrera's absurd blunder of translating or rather mis-translating, κύμα καφόν by "sorda onda" (p. 565).

On the whole, Herrera seems to show an astonishingly small amount of knowledge concerning the great fountain-head of classical literature.

Turning now to Hesiod, let me say at the outset that we shall have only the Theogony to deal with. Herrera shows not the slightest trace of any knowledge of 'The Works and Days' or of 'The Shield of Heracles.' Moreover, every one of Herrera's references to the Theogony is genealogical and statistical. There is not a single reference with

any literary flavor to it. Herrera wishes to get facts (if I may so speak of mythical genealogies) and facts only. There is not a trace or indication of acquaintance with the poetry of Hesiod. Take, as examples of what I mean, the description of the Muses in the opening of the poem (ver. 1-115), with the noble lines which Macaulay so admired on the healing power of the song of the *aeolos*; or the description of the birth of Aphrodite and her triumphal wafting towards the shores of Cyprus (a real Botticellian picture), ver. 191-206. On page 300 Herrera has written a whole page of dull and trivial genealogy and etymology about the Muses. On page 328 he has performed the same unkind office for laughter-loving Aphrodite. How a little of Hesiod's poetry would have lightened these heavy pages!

Herrera refers to Hesiod by name 17 times (pp. 102, 154, 160, 273, 310, 359, 433, 442, 554, 580, 589, 598 bis, 620, 654 bis, 681). Eight of these references (in italic type) are borrowed from other authors. Herrera manages in these 17 references, to make four mistakes. On page 102 he tells us that Amor was born from Chaos and Terra. Hesiod (*Theog.* 120) says that Eros (Amor) was born after Chaos and Gaea (Terra).

The truth is that Herrera took his information, not from Hesiod, but from the old Hypothesis or Preface to Theocritus' 13th Idyl (a passage of which he made a great deal of use in his long note on Amor); "*Hesiodus Chaus et terrae filium esse affirmat.*" I take this from the edition of Helius Eobanus Hessus, Frankfurt, 1545.

In page 154 Herrera informs us that Hesiod in the *Theogony* is of the opinion that Juno without sexual intercourse gave birth to Vulcan.

Hesiod says exactly the opposite (*Theog.* 927).

Probably Herrera was dealing out information derived from Apollodorus I. 3, 5, or some other secondary source.

On page 273 Herrera gives us variety by blundering just the other way. He tells us that according to Hesiod Nemesis is the daughter of Nyx and Oceanus. Hesiod (*Theog.* 213-223) says that Nyx alone (οὐ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα) gave birth to Nemesis.

On page 589, Herrera quotes Hesiod as making the Moerae ("las hadas") the children of Nyx and Erebus. I imagine Herrera gets this from Cicero, *De Natur. Deor.* III. 17.

Hesiod has two contradictory statements. In *Theog.* 217 he says that the Moerae spring from Nyx alone. In *Theog.* 901-5 he says that they are the children of Zeus and Themis. Of course this is explained by the fact that the *Theogony* is the work of different poets. But neither statement, as we see, agrees with Herrera. Now, is it supposable that, if Herrera really had read the *Theogony*, he could have made so many wrong statements? What makes the matter the more suspicious is that his abundant quotations from and allusions to the Latin authors are on the whole very accurate.

Turning from Hesiod, let us pass in review Herrera's accounts of the origin and blossoming of Greek lyric, elegiac, and bucolic poetry. He devotes three notes to these subjects: "Lirica" on pag. 219 seq; "Elegia" on p. 290 seq.; and "Las Eglogas" on pag. 405 seq.

Each one of these articles is exceedingly poor and empty. Herrera "darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge."

He enters upon the subject of lyric poetry with a flourish. The flourish, however is not his own, but a word-for-word plagiarism from Scaliger's *Poet.* I. 44, as I have shown in sect. II (p. 220).

If Herrera had been content to leave out vain show and pedantry, and to give us his own opinion, his notes would have been vastly more interesting and instructive. Take

these words, which express Herrera's own opinion as to the requirements for writing lyric poetry: "Requiere este verso ingenio vivo i espiritoso, voluntad cuidadosa i trabajadora, juicio despierto i agudo, las voces i oracion polida, limpia, castigada, eficaz i numerosa, i particularmente la jocundidad; como los elegos la lacivia, i los Epigramas los juegos." Here one has at least what a lyric poet thinks necessary for his craft. I may say here that grammar and rhetoric are the subjects to which Herrera gave much of his time and attention. He is the Spanish Malherbe with a good bit of the Ronsard yearning for a classical syncretism of Latin turns of expression with the vigorous native Spanish. He is indignant at the poetic taste of his day which follows slavishly in the steps of Petrarch and the Tuscans. He puts forth his own idea as follows: "no pusiera el cuidado en ser imitador suyo, si no endereçara el camino en seguimiento de los mejores antiguos, i juntando en una mezcla a estos con los Italianos, hiziera mi lengua copiosa i rica de aquellos admirables despojas, i osára pensar, que con diligencia i cuidado pudiera arribar a donde nunca llegaran los que no llevan este passo" (p. 71). Such bits are scattered here and there among the notes. I wonder that no Spaniard has, in the intervening 300 years, gathered these genuine bits of the Spanish 'Ars Poetica.'

But to return to Herrera's note on "Lirica." After the preliminary flourish blown through Scaliger's trumpet, he continues as follows: "Dizen que fue su primer autor Alman natural de Sardis, ciudad de Lidia; porque como trae Ateneo en el lib. 13 i Pomponio Gaurico en las vidas de los poetas Griegos, fue el primero que aplicò a la lira los modos amorosos; i dio principio para que no se cantasse mas en esámetros, i floreciendo en tiempo de Ardis rei de Lidia, padre de Aliates, escrivio en lengua Dorica, que la usavan los Lacedemonios." In Suidas Lexicon, s. voce

Alcman, we read: Alcman, Laco ab Messoa, secundum Cratetem vero (qui quidem fallitur) Lydus, Sardibus oriundus. Lyricus, filius Damantis vel Titari. Vixit Olymp. XXVII. Ardye, Alyattis patre, in Lydia regnante; qui cum amoribus valde esset deditus, amatoriorum carminum inventor extitit. . . . Primus instituit ut melica non amplius versibus hexametris componerentur. Usus est dialecto Dorica, ut homo Lacedemonius." Herrera continues: "Fue amador de Megalóstrata, la cual podia atraer a si con los entretenimientos i regalos de la conversacion a los que l'amavan, i tambien con la dulçura de sus versos." I imagine Herrera gets all this from Pomponius Gauricus, who in turn drew from Athenaeus, *Deip.* XIII. 75, p. 600 ad fin.

Herrera continues: "Otros quieren que Ametor Eleuterneo fuesse el primero que cantasse estas canciones amorosas" ("Alii dicunt Ametorem Eleuthereum primum apud suos cives amatorias cecinisse cantilenas." Scalig. *Poet.* I. 44). fueron ecelentes entre los Griegos en este genero el ya memorado Alman, i el elegante i jocundissimo Anacreon, que concurrio en los tiempos de Ciro i Policrates, i siendo natural de Teo, ciudad de Ionia, escrivio sus intentos enel language Iònico, pero es sua poesia toda amatoria; que como dize Pausanias en l'Atica fue el primero despues de Safo, que gastò gran parte de sus versos en declarar sus amores ("Anacreon Teius, qui primus post Lesbiam Sappho magnam carminum suorum partem in exprimendis amoribus consumsit." Pausan. I. 25, 1), porque nacio solo para juegos i cantos i danças i besos i convites; todo entregado en deleites sensuales i de gula ("Anacreon, Teius, lyricus. . . . Scripsit Elegias et Iambos omnino usus Ionica dialecto. Vixit Tempore Polycratis, qui Sami tyrannus fuit, Olympiade LXII; alii vero Cyri et Cambysae temporibus eum vixisse ponunt, Olym. LII. . . . Per totam vitam puerorum et feminarum amoribus odisque pangendis studuit." Suidas, s. v. *Anacreon*).

Herrera goes on to speak of Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar.

It is very trifling, and such as it is, follows slavishly a few remarks in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Veter. Script. Censura* and in Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* lib. X. cap. i medio.

There is not a sign that Herrera had any acquaintance whatsoever with any one of them. Yet Henr. Stephanus had published at Paris in 1560, and again in 1566, Pindar with Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Simonides, and Alcman. Herrera could not fail to know how often and how closely Horace imitates Alcaeus, and Catullus Sappho. One cannot help feeling that when Herrera talks about "en seguimiento de los mejores anti-guos" (p. 71), he means after all only the Latin poets. The last place in the note is specially reserved for Sappho: "De industria reservè para esta ultima parte a Safo Lesbica de la ciudad de Eresso; que compuso 9 libros de versos liricos i elegias i epigramas. hembra de grande espiritu i admirable en declarar las passiones i secretos sentimientos de amor. . . . vivio en tiempo de Aliates padre de Cresso [sic]. i resplandecio con maravillosa suavidad i terneza de versos, en los cuales alaba Dionisio Alicarnaseo [De Compos. Verb. 23] la elegancia i gracia i donaire por su lenidad i blandura; la cual se causa de nunca o pocas vezes colidir o juntar entre si las vocales. pero son lacivos, i de pensamientos mui sugetos a la sensualidad, i assi en los que trae Efestion se quexa, que duerme sola, diziendo casi desta manera;

Ya la luna hermosa,
las Pléyades avian ya caido,
la noche y' à seguido
el medio curso, i huye pressurosa
la ora que declina,
i duermo sola yo, aime mesquina."

This is intended to be a version of frag. 50 (edit. Bergk-Hiller) :

Δέδυκε μὲν ἃ σελάννα
 Καὶ Πληιάδες, μέσαι δὲ
 νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα,
 ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.

I cannot say how bad the translation was which Herrera had before him. The version follows the original very closely, except for two commonplace prettinesses and one egregious blunder which destroys the effect of the whole passage. It does not seem possible that any man of taste, let alone a poet, picturing to himself Sappho consumed with love's fever, looking out upon the night and noting the setting moon and stars, could ever be guilty of the outrageous blunder of translating δέδυκε by *avian* caído. Imagine an impatient woman, all on fire, looking and longing, and murmuring to herself: 'The moon and the Pleiades had set. Time is flying,—and I sleep alone.' I will not dwell on the weak "luna hermosa" and the "aime mesquina." They mark the difference between the fiery power of Sappho and the tinkling verbosity of Herrera.

It is interesting to turn from his schoolboy account of Greek lyric poetry to the Latin side. Herrera speaks and criticizes with relish when talking about poets whom he had read and knew. He begins with a sentence which would have made Horace smile. "Oracio, . . . el mas elaborado de todos los poetas Griegos i Latinos."

It does seem as though even Herrera might have recalled Horace's

"Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari."

The notes on elegiac and bucolic poetry are if possible more empty than the one which I have just reviewed. They are made up, so far as any information is concerned, from Suidas, Scaliger, Servius' Introduction to Vergil's *Bucolics*,

and the long story of Daphnis, the Sicilian shepherd from Diodorus of Sicily IV. 84.

What are the traces of Pindar in Herrera's notes? He names him just four times (pp. 91, 154, 221, 683), and these references are all trifling. One, in fact, is not a reference to Pindar but to Quintilian X. 1. Here are the three: p. 91, Pindar calls hope the dreams of a waking man; p. 154, Pindar in the Olympics calls Jupiter ἀργυκεράννος [sic]; p. 683, we mustn't blame Pindar for giving horns to a doe in the 3rd Olympian ode. I think that Herrera got the first from someone's note on Aelian *Var. Hist.* 13, 29: the second from someone's note on Proclus in Platon. *Timaeum* V. 49; or a note on Aristot. *de Mund.* ad fin. or from some other quarter, for the Orphic verse

"Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραννος"

was very famous. The third came from Aelian *Hist. Animal.* VII. 39.

The name of Aeschylus is mentioned three times (pp. 305, 564, 580). The first is from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII. 11: the second is only a use of the name to mark time: the third is from Pausan. I. 28, p. 68.

Sophocles is mentioned twice (pp. 312, 367). The first is a reference to the Scholiast on Sophocles [Trach. 12 ed. Brunck]. Herrera misquotes the scholium. I don't think that he ever saw the original. The other reference is that Sophocles says that Mars was born in Thrace. I believe that this again is drawn from somebody's note, for Sophocles does not say that Mars was born in Thrace, so far as I am aware. Sophocles (*Antig.* 970) does say that Ares is neighbor to Thracian Salmydessos, but that is not saying that Ares was born in Thrace.

Euripides was undoubtedly the most popular and the most read of the three great tragic poets in the time of the Renaissance. I am rather surprised to find that Herrera

refers to him and the Scholia on him, only eight times (pp. 188, 259, 273, 274, 370, 580, 606, 683). On page 188 Herrera gives a description of Parnassos, and says: "Fue ilustre este monte con dos cumbres, i assi lo llamò *δικόρυφον* Euripides." Euripides doesn't. In the *Phoenissae* 227, he speaks of a *δικόρυφον σέλας*, the twin gleam from the two crags in the Phaedriades; and again of the *δικόρυφος πλάξ* (*Bacch.* 307), the miles of high, broken ground, which slope from the two *κορυφαί* or peaks of Hyampeia and its twin up to the real peak of Parnassos, Lycoreia. From this unintelligent use of *δικόρυφος* it is evident that Herrera did not know the passages in Euripides, but merely some note in which blundering reference is made to the *Phoenissae* 227 and the Scholium.

The reference only on page 259 is really literary. Herrera quotes Horace's words "mors ultima linea rerum est" (*Epist.* I. 16, 79), and says that it is an imitation of Euripides, "que la llama ultima linea de los males." In Euripides' *Antigone* frag. 13, we read: *ἐπ' ἄκραν ἤκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν*. Probably Herrera got this from a note on the Horatian passage. The notes on pp. 273, 274 tell us that 'Euripides in the *Orestes* plainly called Helen the daughter of Leda, and that the Scholiast on the *Orestes* writes that Leda, transformed into Nemesis, had unseemly intercourse and friendship with the swan.' The references are to *Orestes* 1388 and the scholium on *Orestes* 1387. Neither quotation shows that Herrera ever saw the play or the scholium, whether in Greek or Latin. The story of Leda and the swan, with its mysterious Rhamnusian version which put Nemesis in the place of Leda, is a literary commonplace. Helen is *κούρη Διός* in the *Iliad*, and Nemesis enters as early as the *Cypria* of Stasinus. Later, the Christian writers, like Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria, used these old myths to show the indecency of the

heathen religion. Herrera's reference on page 370 is to the Scholiast on *Orestes* 1287, and deals with the old story from Stesichorus that Helen was so beautiful that the Greeks who were going to stone her, let the stones fall.

Page 580 is a reference to Lyssa, Madness personified, whom Euripides introduces into the *Hercules Furens*.

Page 606 is merely a statement that 'Apollo for slaying the Cyclopes had to serve Admetus, as Euripides writes in the *Alcestis*.'

The reference on page 683 shows very clearly how Herrera gathers, not from the ones he quotes, but from some secondary source. He says we must not condemn Pindar in the 3rd Olympian ode, nor Callimachus in the hymn to Diana, nor Euripides in the *Iphigenia*, for giving horns to does.

Now this looks learned, but it is all from Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* VII. 39.

Our present play of the *Iphigenia* at Aulis (Notice that Herrera quotes merely *Iphigenia*. He didn't know which one) has a doe in it at the end of the play, but no mention of horns. But this ending is believed to be spurious. The whole note is amusing as showing the calm way in which Herrera pretended to know what he did not know.

Herodotus is cited four times (pp. 238, 332, 608, 683). All of these citations are trifling, and two are mistakes. Herodotus (I. 7) does not say that Alcaeus was the grandfather of Heracles, but his son; also he does not say (IV. 192) that deer are found in Africa, but that they are not.

Thucydides is not mentioned. None of the orators is mentioned.

Xenophon is mentioned three times (pp. 105, 161, 623). Herrera may have read the *Memorabilia*, but if so he makes no use of his knowledge. The three references are to the *Memorab.* I. 3, 13; *Cyrop.* VIII. 7; *Oecon.* cap. 15. I

think that they are all cited at second hand. Of course Herrera had read a good deal of Aristotle. He quotes him either by name or else as "el filosofo" forty-three times (pp. 83 bis, 84 bis, 89, 100, 135 bis, 165, 169, 171, 200, 224, 251, 253, 259, 270 bis, 290, 334, 338, 374, 383, 420, 431, 542, 544, 553, 557, 558, 564, 566, 570, 574, 575, 581, 601, 608, 623, 662, 682, 683, 685). I think Herrera shows that he has studied Aristotle's Rhetoric, Poetics, and (in less degree) Ethics pretty carefully. He has a taste also for the investigations into the creation of the human body and into its different functions. But even here he shows no real thinking and sagacity, but merely repeats. Fortunately, he repeats generally in these matters the ideas of Aristotle, who was a thinker. It is a pity that Herrera did not keep to Aristotle wholly and only in matters of natural history, although in that case we should have lost some amusement. Take for example his story from Aelian (*De Nat. An.* III. 13) about the cranes. With what childish relish he tells that certain of the birds do sentinel duty at night while the others sleep, and stand on one foot, holding a stone raised in the other. If they slumber the stone clatters to the ground and the noise wakens the sleeper (p. 555). Or take the story of Hercules' dog biting a shell-fish on the Tyrian coast, and getting thereby a "purple-stained mouth": whereupon Hercules goes into the dyeing business, and presents his ladylove with a beautiful royal-purple gown (p. 658).

Let me give last one delicious bit of Herreran criticism. He is commenting on the word *Diamante*: "dicho assi dela voz Griega adamas, que quiere dezir virtud indomita. es falso que solo se enternece con sangre de cabron; porque se vên muchos hechos pedaços con el martillo" (p. 368). We could not have a better introduction into the mental attitude of Herrera and his contemporaries.

Herrera has markedly the anecdotic mind. He is a collector and retailer of isolated facts and fables. Mythological genealogics fill a large part of his notes.

Francisco de Rioja (Preface to Seville edit. of Herrera, 1619) says: "Supo Fernando de Herrera la Filosofia mui bien." Maybe: but certainly he gives no evidence of it, either directly or indirectly, in his poetry or in his notes. He keeps clear of the Aristotelian metaphysics and psychology.

His acquaintance with Plato seems neither wide nor deep. He has twenty-one references to Plato and the Platonists ('los Platonicos'), as follows (pp. 102 tris, 135, 148, 157, 169, 171, 198, 251, 253, 273, 300, 360, 376, 564, 581, 583, 590, 651, 669). Many of these are vague or trifling. For example I will take the three citations on p. 102: "Platon enel Simposio haze a Cupido hijo de Poro, hijo de Metis, que es el consejo, i de Penia, que es la pobreza i necessidad, que los Platonicos dizen que fue fingido con gran misterio." Then further on: "Platon i Fornuto [i. e. L. Annaeus Cornutus] dizen, que se apellida *ἔρως* de la inquisicion i busca que se haze de lo que se ama, porque *ἔρεϊν* vale por *ζητεῖν*, que es inquirir."

Who would know Plato's beautiful allegory (*Sympos.* p. 203) in the hands of Herrera? It has become a dull and unmeaning genealogy, quoted as literally as though it were John Smith, the son of Thomas Smith. Anyone who is not familiar with Plato would think from reading Herrera's note that this was merely another of the innumerable variations in Greek genealogy. The 'fue fingido con gran misterio' is one of those remarks which sound learned, yet convey no idea, "glittering generalities." Can Herrera tell us of anything which was not 'fingido con gran misterio' by the Neo-Platonists?

The last quotation (?) must have come through trusting

someone who knew as little of Plato as Herrera himself. In the *Cratylus*, p. 398 D., Socrates jestingly connects ἥρως and ἔρως and εἶπειν by an amusing use of what he terms "the ancient speech of Attica," and evolves the delightful proposition that the Sophists and Rhetors are the true heroic tribe. The only dialogues to which Herrera refers as though he were acquainted with them, are the *Symposium*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Cratylus*. If I were asked what Greek authors Herrera did read, I should be inclined to say Aristotle and Plato, as indicated above; Plutarch's *Symposium* and some other pieces in the *Moralia*; possibly some of Lucian's dialogues; Diodorus of Sicily somewhat; Aelian, both the *Varia Historia* and the *De Natura Animalium*; Palae-phatus' *Incredibilia*; Apollodorus; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the rhetorical works; Hesiod's *Theogony*; Strabo; Antigonus of Carystus; and Clement of Alexandria. Herrera had some acquaintance with Theocritus, but it was very slight. Last of all, I would mention what seems to have been a favorite book with Herrera, Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. I believe there is little doubt but that Herrera read his Greek in Latin translations.

Herrera is and remains a Latinist.

"Los antiguos" are for him the Latin writers. Vergil is in his estimation "Degli altri poeti onore e lume." And yet Herrera's own style is curiously un-Vergilian, for one who studied the Mantuan so faithfully, and admired him so surpassingly. Herrera's real style is of the late silver age, and has far more kinship with Claudian and Ausonius than with Vergil.

No true Vergilian could ever have quoted (as Herrera does on p. 377) with approbation the following lines from Sanazzaro:

"Aspice, quam variis dstringor Vesbia curis;
Uror et heu nostro manat ab igne liquor.
Sum Nilus, sumque Aetna simul. Restrिंगite flammam,
O lacrimae! Lacrimas ebibe flamma meas!"

Worse yet, Herrera imitates this wretched conceit, and succeeds in producing something quite as bad as Sanazzaro's stuff:

"Cese tu fuego, Amor, cese ya, en tanto
Que respirando de su ardor injusto,
Pruebo á sentir este pequeño gusto
De ver mi rostro humedecido en llanto;
Que nunca el alto Etna con espanto
Los grandes miembros y el rebelde busto
Del impio que cayó con rayo justo
Puede encender, ni nunca encendió tanto.
No amortiguan mis lagrimas tu fuego,
Antes avivan su furor creciendo,
Aunque venzan del Nilo la corriente.
Si suelto en agua rompo el nudo luego,
Qué mas te agrada desatallo ardiendo?
Es menos mal lo que es mas diferente?"

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SERIES IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, No. 3.

TRAJEDIA DE NARCISO

DE

FRANCISCO DE LA CUEVA Y SILVA

Edited from the Autograph Manuscript

TOGETHER WITH OTHER UNPUBLISHED POEMS
OF THE SAME AUTHOR

BY

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, Ph.D.,
*Instructor in Romanic Languages and Literatures in the University of
Pennsylvania*

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1909



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Romance

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INTRODUCTION.

DON FRANCISCO DE LA CUEVA Y SILVA was born at Medina del Campo about the year 1550. His family was related to the Dukes of Alburquerque. Of his immediate family we know that he had a brother, Antonio de la Cueva, one of the most famous jurists of his time, who died about 1627.¹ His sister was Doña Leonor de Silva, who married Agustín de la Rua. Their daughter, Doña Leonor de la Cueva y Silva, or Leonor de la Rua y Silva wrote a play, *La Firmeza en la Ausencia*, besides a number of verses.² Don Francisco had a daughter Doña María Ana Magdalena de la Cueva, who married Don Antonio Ponce de Leon.

We know nothing of his early life, which was probably devoted to the study of law, in the practice of which, in after years, he became so proficient. In *El Viaje entretenido* ³ of Agustín de Rojas he is mentioned among those who wrote the first plays in Spain :

“ Estas empezó Berrío,
luego los demás poetas
metieron figuras graves,
como son reyes y reinas.
Fué el autor primero desto
el noble Juan de la Cueva;
hizo del padre tirano
como sabéis, dos comedias.

¹ For this, and the other facts concerning the family of Francisco de la Cueva, see Sr. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. ii, pp. 138-140.

² Published by Sr. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Escritoras españolas*, vol. i, pp. 300-339.

³ Published in 1603. See reprint, Madrid, 1901, p. 144.

Sus Tratos de Argel, Cervantes :
 Hizo el comendador Vega
 sus Lauras, y *el Bello Adonis*,
 Don Francisco de la Cueva."

This play, *El bello Adonis*, mentioned by Rojas, and which Barrera¹ dates about 1580, has been lost. However, another play, *Narciso* has been preserved in an autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, and is here published for the first time. Whether he wrote other plays than these two, we do not know. At all events he was well known as a dramatist, for Lope de Vega, after praising him in the *Dorotea*² as a poet, says: "*Don Francisco de la Cueva y Berrío . . . escribieron comedias que se representaron con general aplauso.*" However, the most superficial examination of *Narciso* shows that the play belongs to the old school of Spanish plays. After Lope de Vega had revolutionized the drama in Spain, Cueva may have felt unable to compete with his young rival, and perhaps he was not in sympathy with the innovations introduced by Lope. At any rate, he seems to have given up play-writing and to have devoted himself to the practice of law. In this, if we may believe his contemporaries, he was more successful than as a dramatist, to judge by the work he has left. He became one of the foremost jurists of his time, and the poets speak of him as a marvel of learning.

Besides dramatist and jurist, Cueva was a lyric poet of no mean ability. As early as 1578 he wrote verses for a festival at Salamanca,³ and in 1580 he wrote two sonnets in honour of Antonio Perez's translation of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Another sonnet was included in the *Primera parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres* of Espinosa, pub-

¹ *Catálogo del Teatro antiguo español*, p. 121.

² Act IV, Scene III.

³ Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca*, vol. ii, col. 274.

lished at Valladolid in 1605. Besides, a number of his verses are found in a manuscript collection of poetry in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, which are printed in the Appendix to this volume.

For the facts of his life, we must depend upon a few documents recently published by Sr. Pérez Pastor, and upon the verses written in his honour by other poets. In 1598 he was put on trial for *palabras injuriosas*,¹ and in 1609, he was tried with five others for witchcraft.² However, his talents had received recognition, and in 1615, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa mentions D. Francisco and his brother D. Antonio de la Cueva as famous jurists, in his *Plaza Universal*.³

Barrera and Serrano y Sanz⁴ state that he died of poison in 1621, and that his death was attributed to the enmity of the Conde Duque de Olivares. I have not been able to learn the source of this statement, but judging from later documents concerning him, his death did not occur until 1628. In 1621, he wrote a defense of the rule of the Duke of Osuna in Sicily and Naples.⁵ In the same year, Lope de Vega dedicated to him his comedia *La mal Casada*, and addressed an epistle to him, published in *La Filomena*. Neither of these mentions his death. In 1622, in the dedication of *La Pobreza estimada* to D. Francisco de Borja, Lope mentions Don Francisco de la Cueva, "Iurisconsulto insigne," among those who had helped to stem the tide of *culteranismo*.

In 1625 he published at Madrid a defense of the Immacu-

¹ Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. iii, p. 366.

² *Ibid.*

³ Madrid, 1615, fol. 57.

⁴ Barrera, *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, p. 120. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una Biblioteca*, etc., vol. i, p. 300.

⁵ Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. iii, p. 10.

late Conception of the Virgin with the title: *Informacion en derecho divino y humano, por la purissima Concepcion de la soberana virgen, nuestra Señora*. This was preceded by Latin verses of D. Alonso Ramírez de Prado in honour of the author, a sonnet by Don Francisco to the Queen, Doña Isabel de Borbón, and another by Doña Magdalena de la Cueva to her father. Lope de Vega wrote the following sonnet in honour of the book, which was published in *La Vega del Parnaso*, 1637, after Lope's death:

Soneto á Don Francisco de la Cueva y Silva, habiendo hecho una Informacion en derecho á la limpia Concepcion de la Virgen nuestra señora.¹

Quando de siempre hidalga se pretende
probar la executoria de Maria,
a quien mas parece se debia
la causa, que los Angeles suspende.
Qual seraphin estatica os enciende
la Aurora de Dios sol, el dulce dia,
que os hace de su numero, si os fia
la Informacion, que vuestro zelo emprende.
Quando informastes, la sentencia distes:
ya no defiendan, sino solo alaben
los que a la Virgen siempre libre adoran;
Porque despues que vos la defendistes,
no les quedo defensa a los que saben,
ni ocasion de dudar a los que ignoran.

In December, 1626 Don Francisco was made one of the executors of the will of his brother Don Antonio.² We learn of his death in a letter, written by Lope de Vega, dated February 14, 1628: "Faltó Don Francisco de la Cueva así á las letras y á los Consejos; insigne varon por cierto y digno de toda alabanza. Lea V. Ex^a este soneto, que me le han agradecido, aunque á tanto varon

¹ *Obras sueltas*, vol. x, p. 39.

² Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía Madrileña*, vol. ii, pp. 138-140.

se devian mayores elogios: pero yo ofreci esta memoria al templo de nuestra amistad, pagando con ella alguna pequeña parte del amor que le devo:

Paulo jurisconsulto soberano
 que del Cesar de eterna monarquia
 y el Supremo Pontifice tenia
 todo el derecho en la divina mano,
 El que al Hebreo, al Griego y al Romano
 la justicia católica escrivia,
 en una decision dixo que havia
 de morir una vez el onbre humano.
 O ylustre Don Francisco, siempre clara
 luz de las letras, si la muerte oyera
 y tu divino yngenio la ynformara,
 A la ley del morir réplica hubiera,
 que tu sirena voz la dilatara
 si menos que de Dios sentencia fuera.”¹

Doña Leonor de la Cueva y Silva wrote the following sonnet on her uncle's death: ²

Al sepulcro de el Sr. Don Francisco de la Cueva, mi tio.

Este que ves que cubre blanca losa,
 aunque la dura tierra le consume,
 fué en el saber otro segundo Numa,
 y otro Catón en ciencia milagrosa.
 De su ingenio, la fama numerosa
 triunfos publica, y de ser rara pluma,
 mil grandezas aclama en breve suma,
 con que hace su memoria más gloriosa.
 Callen los siete sabios de la Grecia
 y humille Atenas su laurel sagrado,
 pues éste de Minerva el triunfo lleva.
 ¿ A quién con más razón el mundo precia?
 que de uno á otro polo es ya llamado
 el grande Silva y el insigne Cueva.

¹ Barrera, *Nueva Biografía de Lope de Vega*, p. 637. This sonnet is repeated in the *Laurel de Apolo*.

² Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una Biblioteca*, etc., vol. i, p. 338.

Quevedo paid a touching tribute to his friend Don Francisco in this sonnet to his tomb: ¹

Tumulo de D. Francisco de la Cueva, i Silva, grande Iurisconsulto,
i Abogado.

Fue Varon mui Noble, Limosnero, i Poeta.

Este, en trage de Tumulo, Museo:
Sepulcro, en Academia transformado:
En donde está en Ceniças desatado
Iason, Licurgo, Bartulo, i Orpheo.
Este Polvo, que fue de tanto Reo
Asilo, dulcemente raçonado,
Cadaver de las Leies consultado,
En quien si lloro el fin, las glorias leo.
Este de Don Francisco de la Cueva
Fue prision, que su vuelo nos advierte,
Donde Piedad, i Merito le lleva.
Todas las Leies con discurso fuerte
Vencio, i ansi parece cosa nueva,
Que le venciesse, siendo Lei, la Muerte.

Lope de Vega seems to have been a life-long friend of Don Francisco de la Cueva, and he bade him a last farewell in the *Laurel de Apolo*: ²

Medina, en cuyo campo solamente
Pudo hallarse la cueva del Parnaso,
Ofrece diligente
A Baldo en el espíritu de Lasso,
Al docto don Francisco de le Cueva,
Que los versos de Píndaro renueva:
Tan gran ingenio, que con triste suerte
La mas sangrienta ley lloró su muerte;
Que deben con razon llorar las leyes
Los que honran patrias y engrandecen reyes.
¡ Qué triste de su pluma nos advierte,
Si bien en verde edad primero fruto,
Porcia, despues que del famoso Bruto

¹ *El Parnaso Español*, Melpomene XVI. Madrid, 1668, p. 108.

² *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, vol. 38, p. 199.

Supo y creyó la miserable suerte!
 Llorad pues juntas, de su muerte ciertas,
 Musas y leyes, si no sois las muertas;
 Y yo tambien por los que obligan tanto,
 De la eterna amistad vínculo santo,
 Diciendo á su divino entendimiento
 Con triste musa en lamentable acento:

Paulo, jurisconsulto soberano,
 Que del César de eterna monarquía,
 Y el supremo Pontífice tenia
 Todo el digesto en la divina mano;

El que al hebreo, al griego y al romano,
 La instituta católica escribia,
 En una decision dijo que habia
 De morir una vez el hombre humano.

¡ Oh ilustre don Francisco, oh siempre clara
 Luz de las letras! si la muerte oyera,
 Y tu divino ingenio la informara,
 A la ley del morir réplica hubiera;
 Que tu divina voz la dilatara,
 Si menos que de Dios sentencia fuera.

The play of *Narciso* is found in an autograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, No. 14701. In Sr. Paz y Melia's Catalogue,¹ it bears the number 2280. It consists of eight leaves in folio and is signed: "De Don Francisco de la cueba y Silva." Nothing appears in the manuscript which gives a clue either to the date of composition or of representation, but inasmuch as Rojas in *El Viaje entretenido* mentions Don Francisco just after Juan de la Cueva and Cervantes, and before Artieda, Lupercio de Argensola and Virués, we may believe that his plays were written about 1580. *Narciso* is divided into four acts, and in no way shows the influence of Lope and his school.

The source of the play is the well-known story of Eco and *Narciso*, found in the third book of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, a story which later received dramatic treatment by

¹ *Catálogo de las Piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional.*

Calderon de la Barca. Judging from the title, *El bello Adonis*, mentioned by Rojas, was a mythological play of the same type as *Narciso*. A brief analysis of the plot is here given:

The Nymph Eco has incurred the displeasure of Jupiter for having told Juno of his relations with certain nymphs. Jupiter appeals for aid to the Fury Tesifone, and to Cupido, and they promise to so torture Eco with the pains of love that she will die. Liriope, mother of Narciso, consults a sage as to the destiny of her son, and is told that he will live happily until he comes to know himself. By the wiles of Tesifone and Cupido, the Nymphs Niseyda and Eco fall in love with Narciso, who rejects their advances. Mutual jealousy brings to an end their long friendship, and Niseyda plunges a dagger into Eco's breast. As punishment for having betrayed him, Jupiter decrees that for all time, the voice of Eco shall lament her torment and repeat the last syllables of words uttered by others.

Narciso, while seeking his page Tindaro in the forest, hears the voice of Eco, which repeats his words, and seems to answer his questions. While seeking her, overcome by fatigue, he bends over a spring to drink, and becomes enamored of his own fair face. He dies as he tries to embrace the beautiful form reflected in the water, and Niseyda, also, dies of the torment of love. Their bodies are found by their mothers, Liriope and Tirseyda, who demand vengeance of Jupiter. He, however, reminds Liriope that the sage had told her that Narciso would die when he came to know himself, and explains to Tirseyda that the Nymph Niseyda had died because Narciso would not accept her love. He promises to change Niseyda into a star, and that Narciso shall be the name of a beautiful flower. Liriope and Tirseyda sadly accompany the corpses of their children, and Jupiter orders Silencio to conceal the cause of the death

of Narciso and the two nymhs until he can regain the love of Juno.

Versification.—The following measures were used in the play:

V. 1-81. *Tercetos*: aba, bcb, cdc, etc. V. 82-85. *Hendecasyllables*: abba. V. 86-141. *Octavas*: abababcc. V. 142-353. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 354-407. *Versos sueltos*. V. 408-503. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 504-517. *Soneto*. V. 518-613. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 614-673. *Versos sueltos*. V. 674-697. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 698-721. *Octavas*: abababcc. V. 722-809. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 810-868. *Tercetos*: aba, bcb, cdc, etc. V. 869-872. *Hendecasyllables*: abba. V. 873-960. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 961-1024. *Versos sueltos*. V. 1025-1045. *Tercetos*: aba, bcb, cdc, etc. V. 1046-1049. *Hendecasyllables*: abba. V. 1050-1377. *Redondillas*: abba. V. 1378-1439. *Versos sueltos*. V. 1440-1455. *Octavas*: abababcc.

This will show the variety of metres used in the composition of this play. Of the stanza forms commonly used by the dramatists, only the assonancing *romance* and the *décimas* are not found here.

Orthography.—The orthography of the original has been carefully preserved, except that I have not written the *ç* before *e* and *i* which sometimes occurs. In cases of elision like *m'espanto* for *me espanto*, *d'escuchar* for *de escuchar*, I have used the apostrophe. In a few cases of evident mistakes, I have restored the text, and placed the reading of the manuscript at the foot of the page.

b and *v* not being distinguished in pronunciation, were interchangeable in writing: *benga*, 12; *boz*, 15; *boluio*, 24; *buelbas*, 514; etc.

The same holds good of *c* and *z* before *e* and *i*: *dulzes*, 12; *venzida*, 60, *terzera*, 561; *zeguedad*, 579; etc.

Cu and *qu* are interchanged: *qual*, 5; *quenta*, 3; etc.

g sometimes takes the place of *h*: *guelgome*, 186; etc., also *gue* for *bue* in *aguelo*, 41.

f is sometimes doubled at the beginning of a word: *ffamosa*, 2; *ffigura*, 167; *ffieros*, 22.

h is often omitted at the beginning of a word: *e* for *he*, 26; *aré*, 55; *emos*, 331; etc. It is often prefixed: *hirte*, 107; *hera*, 666; etc.

y is frequently used for *i*: *yncitada*, 13; *myo*, 266; *ynsana*, 518; etc.

Initial *r* is sometimes doubled: *rrica*, 7; *rreciuió*, 22; *rraro*, 45; etc.

u and *v* were not distinguished at all in writing: *biuas*, 575; *escriue*, 631; *cauas*, 841, etc.

x is very frequently used for *j*: *xamas*, 663; *aconsexo*, 673; *congoxa*, 701; *paxe*, 964; etc.

ch is sometimes written for *c*: *charo*, 41; *Echo*, 183; etc.

n is written for *gn* in *sinifica*, 658; *ynorante*, 804; etc.

Initial *e* before *s* and a consonant is omitted in *spossa*, 4; *speranza*, 18; *spanto*, 82.

e is frequently elided before a following word beginning with *e*: *d'escuchar*, 23; *desa*, 76; *m'espanto*, 214; *l'escriue*, 631; *qu'e* for *que he*, 1116; *qu'estando*, 215; *s'esconde*, 1057; etc.

The preposition *á* is sometimes elided before a word beginning with *a*: *abrazarle llegue*, 1138; *bengo atajar*, 775; *no benir alcanzar*, 383; etc.

The infinitive termination often assimilates with a following pronoun: *sabellos*, 207; *encarezellos*, 208; etc.

The manuscript contains neither punctuation marks nor accents. I have punctuated the play to facilitate the reading, and have accented homonyms, the interrogative pronouns and the future tenses of verbs.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

Philadelphia, November, 1908.

TRAJEDIA DE NARCISO.

FFIGURAS.

EL DIOS IUPITER.	LIRIOPE, NIMPFA, MADRE DE NARCISO.
LA FURIA TESIFFONE.	NARCISSO:
EL DIOS CUPIDO.	TINDARO.
LA NIMPFA NISEYDA.	UN SAUIO.
LA NIMPFA ECO.	TIRSEYDA, NIMPFA.
HERSILIA, CRIADA.	EL SILENCIO.

[JORNADA PRIMERA.]

<i>Jupiter.</i>	Basta que á Juno la parlera Eco, Cierta nimpha, entre nayades ffamosa, Quenta los yerros en que amando pecco. Si le pregunta mi diuina spossa Quál de las ninphas amo, ella lo esplica,	5
	En llegando á sauer la menor cosa. Crié su lengua de eloquencia rrica, Para que á Juno hablando me detenga, Quando á buscarme con temor se aplica, Y para que en palabras la entretenga,	10
	Mientras yo duermo con mi ninfa amada, Sin que á cortar los dulzes lazos benga. Lo qual como yntendio Juno; yncitada De un furor justiciero y enemigo, De boz y leng[u]a la dexó privada,	15
	Y Eco, mirando el aspero castigo Con que de Juno la crueldad crecia, Sin speranza ni señal de abrigo, Declaróle por señas que diria Con que de mí supiese si el azeno	20
	Y la lengua que tuvo, le boluía. En esto Juno rreciuio contento, Y á trueco d'escuchar todas mis faltas, La boz entera le boluio al momento.	

- Contole luego las cautelas altas 25
 Que e tenido con nimphas, ¡o traydora!
 Que por mal tuyo en la lealtad me faltas.
 Qual si fuera de marmol, á la ora
 Se endurecio connmigo la gran Juno,
 Y ni me trata, ni á mi diestra mora. 30
 Xamas la e visto que en semblante alguno
 Me muestre alguna sombra de terneza,
 Antes huye de mí como ymportuno.
 Y asi me determino con fiereza,
 Dar un castigo á Eco tal que dure 35
 Mientras durare mi divina alteza.
- Tesifone.* Pues tu deydad, ynsigne rrey, no cure
 Sino de declararme su concepto,
 Y la pena á mi cargo se asegure.
- Cupido.* Y si de mí para qualquier efeto 40
 Te quisieres servir, agüelo charo,
 Mi fuerza en todo exercitar prometo.
- Jupiter.* Pues con tal confianza yo declaro
 Lo que en mi corazon sellado viue.
- Tesifone.* Para tan rraro mal, el fin sea rraro. 45
Jupiter. Pretendo qu'el sosiego que rreciue
 Por la merced de Juno, ardiendo en llamas
 De viuo amor la pierda mientras viue.
 Muera rrebuelta en amorosas tramas,
 Y no la sueltes de prision tan dura 50
 En tiempo alguno si mis cosas amas.
- Cupido.* Yo cumpliré mi deuda con fe pura.
 Yo sostendré firmeza, pues no puede
 Faltar un punto en ynmortal criatura.
 Yo aré que puesta en mis prisiones quede, 55
 Y que no salga dellas en la vida,
 Por más qu'el tiempo y la fortuna rruede.
 Con biuos rrayos quedará enzendida.
- ¡ Quieres mandarme, Jupiter eterno,

INTRODUCTION

15

Que otra alguna alma venga á ser vencida?

60

Jupiter.

No más agora.

Cupido.

Pues de mi gobierno

Berás la muestra.

Jupiter.

Enfin eres gigante

Disimulado en ese niño tierno.

Tú partirás, Tesifone, al ynstante,

Y mezclarás entre ella y otra alguna,

65

Un ardiente yra y un furor constante.

Cubrir las as de tu funesta luna,

Que qualquiera ynferral como quien eres,

No se le yguala enemistad ninguna.

Derrama tu ponzoña entre mugeres,

70

Y harás que piense, con la muerte de Eco,

Cobrar la matadora sus plazerés.

Tesifone.

No siembras tu palabra en pecho seco.

De ambas á dos te admirarán las yras,

Si su blandura en aspereza trueco;

75

Y si á bengarte desa nynfa aspiras,

A fuerza nuestra te dará venganza,

El fin terrible por quien tú suspiras.

Jupiter.

Seguro voy que no tendréys mudanza.

Cupido.

Basta mandarlo tú.

Tesifone.

Y aun basta tanto,

80

Que puedes dar por hecho la speranza.

Jupiter.

Pues bamonos, y cause al mundo spanto

La rreal justicia de los altos dioses.

Tesifone.

Yo digo por mi parte que rreposes.

Cupido.

Está seguro, rrey eterno y santo.

85

Sale(n) Liriope, madre de Narciso con un Sabio.

Liriope.

E benido, gran sabio, a consultarte,

Porque un baron nacio de mí tan bello,

Que en él, Natura exercitando el arte,

Puso al balor y á la hermosura el sello.

Narciso se llamó y en qualquier parte,

90

Su estatura, su rrostro, su cabello,

- Su gracia, su donayre tanto suenan
 Que ynumerables almas de amor penan.
 Adoranle las nayades divinas,
 Desta umbrosa rribera moradoras, 95
 Mas él xamas sintio las llamas fynas
 Con que amor turba las alegres horas.
 Pues tú que de los tiempos adivinas,
 Y en larga fama tu saber mejoras,
 Me aclara qué promete la ventura 100
 A la deydad de tan gentil criatura.
- Sabio.* Será con condicion que no me rruegues
 Más de lo que quisiere yo dezirte.
- Liriope.* Sin que abisarme por tal modo llegues,
 Es eso ley en quien desea servirte; 105
 Y como la promesa no me niegues,
 Luego podrás á tus negozios hirme.
- Sabio.* Yo diré de tus cosas solo aquellas
 Que bengo á conozer por las estrellas.
 Biuirá tu Narciso largos años, 110
 Si pudiere biuir sin conozerse.
 Aqui se fundan sus mortales daños;
 Aqui estriba el ganarse y el perderse;
 Aqui estan los probechos más estraños,
 O el más terrible fin que podrá berse. 115
 No se conozca, y viuirá seguro
 Contra los hados como rrecio muro;
 Y pues guardar la fe quedó en tu mano,
 No preguntes, Liriope, más desto.
- Liriope.* Antes en conozerse un hombre humano, 120
 Está su bien con su prudencia puesto.
 Conocerá qu'es tierra y vil gusano,
 Y que se acaba tras el buelo presto
 De la hedad, por do entiendo que conbenga
 Que mi Narciso á conozerse benga. 125
- Sabio.* Quando en eso cayere tu Narciso,

No se conozerá de tal manera
 Que viua desde entonzes sin aviso
 Para seguir á la rrazon entera.
 Esta bentura señalarle quiso 130
 El sumo cielo desde el alta esfera.
 Pienso qu'estás burlando.

Liriope.

Sabio.

Pues yo quiero

Dexarte, y calla, que en el fin t'espero.

Liriope.

Yo pienso que me engaña quien s'esfuerza
 A querer lo futuro declararme. 135

Quiero rrendirme al hado, pues por fuerza
 Ha de venir al cabo á sojuzgarme.

No sufriré que un maxico me tuerza

Tanto que del plazer benga apartarme.

Yo esperaré qualquier bentura ó duelo, 140

Que á mi Narziso prometiere el cielo.

Sale Niseyda, nimpha, enamorada de Narciso.

Niseyda.

Cuydados buscad, Amigo.

No acompañeys mi mal brauo;

Mirad que si yo me acabo,

Que abeys de acabar conmigo. 145

Comenzad luego á tornaros

A más seguro lugar,

Que yo no sé de llebar,

Sino solo á despeñaros.

Narziso, si eres humano, 150

¿Cómo á todos tan ynfel?

¿Si bello como cruel

Y si dios como tirano!

Tirano te llamo injusto,

Pues al amor más perfeto 155

Y al animo más sugeto,

Xamas aplicas tu gusto.

Quitar la vida al traydor

Es cosa que en rrazon cabe,

Y es ley que con pena graue 160

Se castigue el desamor.
 Pero á quien te quiere bien,
 Tratarle con aspereza,
 ¡ A qu'estremo de dureza
 Puede llegar un desden? 165
 Una imaxen traigo aqui
 De tu divina ffigura,
 Desdeñosa aunqu'es pintura
 Por ser sacada de ti.
 Myrola y hallola ayrada, 170
 Tratola y hallola muda,
 Tanto que me tiene en duda
 Si es la viua ó la pintada.
 Mas quiza, pues tu belleza
 En ella se trasladó, 175
 Tu estampa se fabricó
 Segun tu naturaleza.
 Pero si de tu trasunto
 Tan graue pena rreciuo,
 El dolor que causas viuo, 180
 ¡ Quánto subirá de punto!

Sale la Nimpha Eco.

Echo. ¡ O mi Niseyda en quien sube
 El bien, Dios te guarde!

Niseyda. ¡ O Echo!

Salud te offrezco aunque peco
 En dar lo que nunca tube, 185
 Y güelgome á fe en el alma
 De que Juno te bolbiese
 La boz y lengua, y no diese
 De ti á la muerte la palma.

Eco. Yo te agradezco, Niseyda, 190
 El parabien que me offrezes,
 Que bien en todo parezes
 Hija de la rreal Tirseyda.
 Pero si aqui te aclarase

	Las nuevas llagas que tengo,	195
	Segura, Niseyda, vengo	
	De qu'el parabien zesase.	
Niseyda.	Pues quentame, fiel Señora,	
	Las heridas que en tu pecho	
	Los fieros hados an hecho	200
	Con su mano matadora.	
Eco.	Dixeratela, por Dios,	
	Como [á] amiga tan estrecha,	
	Mas sé que á nadie aprovecha	
	Que la sepamos las dos.	205
	Porque si aclaro mis males,	
	Al cabo ya de sabellos,	
	Es paga el encarezellos	
	Con dezir que son mortales.	
Niseyda.	Yo te ayudaré á sentillos.	210
Eco.	¡ Ay, que otro mal me comienza !	
Niseyda.	¡ Qué ?	
Eco.	Que me ataxa la bergüenza,	
	Quando me ynclino á decillos.	
Niseyda.	Estrañamente m'espanto	
	De qu'estando tan unida	215
	Connigo en trato y en vida,	
	Te quieras encubrir tanto.	
Eco.	De nada me admiraré,	
	Pues en eso te conziertas,	
	Quenta males, y si aziertas	220
	En mi mal, yo le diré.	
Niseyda.	¡ Es de la cabeza ?	
Eco.	Sí.	
Niseyda.	¡ Y del corazon ?	
Eco.	Tambien.	
Niseyda.	¡ Y del pecho late bien ?	
Eco.	No.	
Niseyda.	¡ Y del alma ?	
Eco.	Ni aun de ay.	225
Niseyda.	Luego el amor te desaze,	

Porque no ay mal que asi crezca,
 Que cuerpo y alma enflaquezca,
 Si de solo amor no naze.
 No muestres en tu promessa
 Que hazes de la fe destierro.
 Dilo. 230

Eco. En ese propio yerro
 Que amor llamas, vengo presa.

Niseyda. ¿Y en esta tierra?

Eco. No.

Mass . . .

Niseyda. ¿Qué dizes?

Eco. Que aqui 235

Probo sus flechas en my
 El niño que dios nazio.

Niseyda. Gran sospecha boy criando. [aparte]

Alguna furia ynfernal
 Pareze que su mortal 240

Contraria me ba tornando.

Ya manda el zelo en mi casa.

Eco, hagamos un concierto.

¿En qué pongamos que acierto
 Cuya zentella te abrasa? 245

Eco. Prueba de balde tu aviso.

Niseyda. Negarás.

Eco. Confesarélo,

Por Dios.

Niseyda. Pues ardes, ¿ dirélo?

Eco. Sí.

Niseyda. Pues ardes por Narziso.

Eco. ¿O dulce y glorioso nombre! 250

Niseyda. ¿O crudo zelo rrabioso! [aparte]

¿Qué corazon animoso
 Biue á quien tu ley no asombre?

La firme estrechez quitas.

Quebrantas la fuerza suya. 255

O Eco, Dios te destruya,

Que así á tu muerte me yncitas.

Eco. ¿No te parece razon

Amarle, Niseyda mia?

Niseyda. Y aun rrazon, Eco, seria, [aparte]

260

Quitarte, ¡ o dura pasion!

Quitarte la vida digo.

Eco. No rrespondes.

Niseyda. Yo concedo

Quanto dizes.

Eco. Pues sea quedo,

Que aqui nos viene un testigo.

265

Sale Narciso con su criado llamado Tindaro.

Narciso. No alabes, Tindaro myo,

La hermosura ffeminil,

Que en ser de muger es bil,

Y fundada en desbario.

Y más sabré declararte

270

Que en la mayor parte dellas,

Las fazes que muestran bellas,

Son disfrazadas por arte.

Tindaro. Mucho de fuerte presumes.

Eco. My Narziso es el presente.

275

Niseyda. Ya le beo, ¡ o rrayo ardiente,

Que la vida me consumes!

Tindaro. Plega á la suma deydad,

A quien sirbes y conozes,

Que perpetuamente gozes,

280

Narciso, tal libertad.

Narciso. Quien rresiste al brauo fuego

De amor a de andar armado.

Tindaro. ¿Cómo?

Narciso. Con tener cuydado.

Tindaro. Pues yere á traycion el ciego.

285

Narciso. A traycion mata su diestra

Y á traicion es su conquista.

Tindaro. Arto abisa con la vista

- Del rostro que antes nos muestra.
- Eco.* Yo llego, Niseyda, á hablarle. 290
- Niseyda.* No llegues.
- Eco.* Pues, ¿qué?
- Niseyda.* Yo llego
- Por ambas á dos.
- Eco.* ¿Qué rruego
- Tan yndigno d'escucharte!
- Narciso . . .
- Niseyda.* Ilustre Narziso . . .
- Narziso.* ¿Qué mandais, nimphas hermosas? 295
- Eco.* Gozar ambas venturosas
- Dese dulce paraíso.
- Niseyda.* Niseyda tan solo puede
- Ser parte en esto.
- Eco.* Yo el todo.
- Niseyda.* Pues muera yo si de modo 300
- No hiciere que sola quede.
- Narciso.* ¿A qué benis?
- Eco.* A emplearme
- En mirar esa deydad,
- Y luego sin libertad
- Por esclaua vuestra darme. 305
- Narciso.* Yo me os offrezco por tal.
- Niseyda.* Sí, mas esa servidumbre
- No nos muestra de la lumbre
- De amor alguna señal.
- ¡O zelo mortal encuentro, [aparte] 310
- Que fuerzas al corazon
- A bomitar de rrondon
- La pasion que tiene adentro!
- Y si tú no combatieras
- Connigo en este lugar, 315
- Pudiera disimular
- Aunque no hablara de beras.
- Narciso.* ¿Alguna guerra traeys
- Entre ambas á dos trabada?

- Eco.* Pues yo e sido la engañada. 320
- Narciso.* Charas nimphas . . .
- Niseyda.* ¿Qué quereys?
- Narciso.* Que no e visto cosas tales.
- Niseyda.* Charas dixo, ¿cre[e]ré yo [aparte]
Que me ama? No, porque usó
De palabras generales. 325
- Eco.* Aora quiero disfrazarme, [aparte]
Y sabré un consexo sano
Que en lo que hiciere esta mano
No es bien destotra fiarme.
Sobre quien hera más digna 330
De servirte emos rreñido.
- Narciso.* Cierta sobre mal partido
Una con otra se yndigna.
- Eco.* Es aficion llana y pura.
- Narciso.* Por tal se deue tomar. 335
- Niseyda.* Es pura y firme en durar,
Mas no del fuego segura.
Yo te lo declararé
Quando aya lugar mexor.
- Narciso.* Yo soy vuestro servidor, 340
Mas con nadie rreñiré.
- Eco.* Son disputas de mugeres
Quando no aya ocupacion.
- Tindaro.* Muera yo si de aficion
No es más que no de plazerres. 345
Señor Narciso, ya el dia
Se ba.
- Narciso.* Pues de aqui partamos.
- Eco.* ¿No consentirás que bamos
Las dos en tu compañía?
- Narciso.* Tendréme por venturoso. 350
- Niseyda.* Bamos, que despues berán
Los que presentes estan
Si es el zelo poderoso.

Cupido y la Furia Tesifone.

24

Carcomes y desazes las entrañas 385

Tanto que por templar tu dura fuerza,

Una flaca muger se determina

En dar la muerte á quien amó primero,

Con estrecha amistad y nudo fyrme!

Cupido. Cierta tenemos, ynbencible ffuria, 390

De nuestra parte la aspera victoria,

Pues tales armas en la guerra usamos.

Yo bolberé á enzender con nuevas llamas

De la mysera Eco el pecho ynjusto,

Ynjusto pues á Juno de su zentro 395

Sacó todo el tesoro qu'escondia,

Contra las leyes de la fe constante

Que á Jupiter ynmenso dada tubo.

Tesifone. Pues yo en Niseyda sembraré ponzoña

De brabos zelos y zelosas yras 400

Tanto que se disponga y determine

A dar mill muertes á la causa dellas,

Si mill la puede dar su flaca mano.

Cupido. Pues con esto, partamos al momento

A poner en efeto el exercicio 405

Que por causa de Jupiter tomamos.

Tesifone. Por parte mia sin tibieza bamos.

Niseyda. Zelo, si de amor naciste,

Con la muerte te criaste,

Porque muy poco heredaste 410

Del buen padre que tubiste.

Y aun otro efeto más duro

Bemos en ti con que matas,

Que tanto más nos maltratas

Quanto es el amor más puro. 415

Y dizen nos por desecha

Que para atajar question,

Tú ymitas la condicion

De tu madre la sospecha.

De lo qual yo no me aparto, 420

Porqu'es ley clara y abierta,

Que como á cosa más cierta,
Siga al biente qualquier parto.
Mas no pretendo juzgarte
Por hijo de amor en nada, 425
Que no tienes bien probada
Tu yntencion en esta parte.
Aunque me podrás dezir
Que en causas de filiacion,
A la comun opinion 430
Se deve siempre acudir ;
Amor en casa te tubo
Por su hijo natural
Y saben que como á tal
Te alimentó y te sostubo. 435
Pero un claro testimonio
Te a con todos desonrrado,
Y es ber que fuyste engendrado
Sin prezeder matrimonio ;
En lo qual despues tu padre 440
Te quiso lixitimar,
Biniendose á desposar
Con la sospecha tu madre.
Porque como se juntaron
La sospecha y el amor, 445
Por las manos del temor
Ambos á dos se casaron.
Y tú el titulo tomaste
Del padre della y tu agüelo,
Porque se llamó el rrezelo, 450
Y tú el zelo te nombraste.
A la sospecha engendró
Este rrezelo ynumano,
Que fue del temor hermano
Y al zelo la madre dio. 455
Mas, ¿ para qué me dibierto
Y hago en esto tanta pausa ?
Qu'el corazon á tu causa

Y el animo traygo muerto.

Ya pretendo perezer,

460

O en la pena que me acaba,

De mi Narciso la esclaua

Yo sola tengo de ser.

Eco. Zesó tu amistad.

Ten con tu vida gran quenta,

465

Que do el celo se aposenta,

Trastorna la voluntad.

Entra Eco con su criada Hersilia.

Eco. Hersilia, quiero leerte

Un billete que e conpuesto

Para aquel que con su gesto

470

Mi pecho en fuego conbierte

Más con un pleyto omenaje.

Hersilia. ¿Qué?

Eco. Que le des en su mano.

Hersilia. ¿Quándo?

Eco. Agora, que á este llano

Suele benir con su paje.

475

Hersilia. Yo lo prometo si puedo,

Que por mi parte no quede.

Niseyda. Eco es ésta. Ya no puede

Dexar de rrendirme el miedo;

Miedo no para temerla,

480

Sino para rrezelarme

De que benga á despreciarme

Mi Narciso por quererla.

¡Ay Dios! Un papel comienza

A leer. Quiero lo oyr,

485

Que hasta hazerla yo morir,

Parezeré con bergüenza.

Eco. A aquestas tiernas rrazones,

Pon Hersilia las orejas.

Hersilia. Yo estoy atenta á tus quexas

490

Y al orden con que las pones.

BILLETE.

Hersilia. *Eco al gran Narciso.*

¡ Ay Dios!

Eco. ¡ Porqué no le llamas tuyo?
¡ Quién puede llamarle suyo
Sin voluntad de los dos?

495

Hersilia. Llamarásle tu señor,
Ya que no puedes tu amigo.

Eco. Aun deso el cielo es testigo
No es nadie merezedor;
Y asi no quiero usurpar
Titulo que no merezco.
El aviso te agradezco,
Pero buelberne á escuchar.

500

Prosigue el billete.

Qualquiera corazon en cuyo seno
Arde el amor y es fuerza en él su llama,
Biue glorioso si de beras ama,
Quando el bien no le trata como axeno.
Parezele el mirar blando y sereno,
Y el amoroso hablar que bio en su dama,
Un triunfo digno de perpetua ffama,
Y un mucho campo d'esperanzas lleno.
Yo me contentaré, Narciso mio,
Con que sepas que muero y esos ojos
Buelbas más manso á mi rostro triste.
No admitas de Niseyda el desbario.
Mira que son finjidos sus enojos,
Y no ay amor sino el que en mí consiste.

505

510

515

Niseyda. ¡ O perra, traydora ynsana, [aparte]
Que usurpas el bien ageno!
Asi le dizes que peno
Fingidamente, tirana.

520

Desagame el mal que yere
Las entrañas que sostengo,

- Si por la rraua que tengo,
Fiera muerte no te diere. 525
- Hersilia.* Muy bien el billete acabas;
Mas de una cosa me rio.
- Eco.* Qué?
- Hersilia.* Que le llamaste mio,
Y al principio t'escusabas.
- Eco.* Tu muebes rrisa mayor, 530
Que no quise ni aun por sueño
Lllamarle amigo ni dueño.
- Hersilia.* ¿ No? Pues ¿ qué?
- Eco.* Mi matador.
Esto quise en las razones
De mio significar, 535
Y puedes lo bien sacar
Por los siguientes rrenglones.
- Hersilia.* Ya sé que le significas
En lo ssiguiente que mueres,
Y aun en ley de amor tal eres 540
Que a ti sola te le aplicas.
- Eco.* Digo y afirmo constante,
Que no entienda que ay pasion
Si no fuere en mi aficion,
O en otra su semejante; 545
De manera que qualquiera
Que se preciare de amar,
Por su blanco a de llebar
Que tanto como yo quiera.
Y por ser original 550
Mi álma desta fyrmeza,
Digo que ama con tibieza
Quien padeze menos mal.
- Niseyda.* Cómo no se abre la tierra [aparte]
Y te traga! Mientes, loca, 555
Mientes qu'es amor te toca.
Yo siento la mayor guerra.
No trujera spada alguna

- Con que quitarte del mundo,
Que yo te hechara al profundo 560
Do está la tercera luna.
Mas calla, que tu bendrás
A mejor tiempo y sazon.
- Hersilia.* Cierto, en qualquiera ocasion,
Sutiles razones das. 565
- Eco.* Son dotrinas de amor biejas.
- Hersilia.* A fe que es docto el maestro,
Y el discipulo tan diestro
Que corren á las parexas.
- Eco.* Uno somos, sierba ffiel, 570
Porque ya de puro unida,
Biene á quedar conbertida
My naturaleza en él.
Y asi, si rrazones doy
En cosas de amor tan biuas, 575
Ningun espanto recibas
Que conozca lo que soy.
- Niseyda.* Y aun por eso en ti se enzierra
Tan perpetua zeguedad,
Porque sigues la deydad 580
Del ciego que nunca yerra.
- Hersilia.* Asi que en amor tan firme
Tu natural se conbierte.
- Eco.* En la condicion de fuerte,
A nadie podré rrendirme. 585
- Hersilia.* Pues Niseyda tambien ama
A Narciso.
- Eco.* Finge agora
Por dañarme, esa señora,
Una desusada llama.
Piensa que me a de tener 590
Narciso en poco por ella,
Y que por su luz y estrella
La a de benir á escoger.
- Hersilia.* En ese deseo tan nuevo,

- Mucho menos que tú bale. 595
- Eco.* De medida, por Dios, sale
La bentaja que le llebo.
- Niseyda.* Mientes, ciega. Yo daré [aparte]
A tu presumcion el pago.
Aguarda el fin.
- Eco.* O qué trago! 600
A Niseyda e visto á fee.
Bamonos. No nos ympida.
- Hersilia.* Justo me parece, cierto.
- Eco.* ¿Pues guardarásme el concierto?
- Hersilia.* Perderé por ti la vida. 605
- Niseyda.* A Eco ya le a escondido.
Detente, flaca muger,
Que yo te haré conozer
Lo que eres y lo que as sido.
Muera yo, cruel bestiglo, 610
Si antes que se asconda Apolo,
Con este mi brazo solo
No te sacaré del siglo.
- Ba tras ella y sale Narciso con su criado Tindaro.*
- Narciso.* No es bueno que á la entrada deste bosque,
Tindaro, dulce amigo, abrá un ynstante, 615
Que corriendo con paso apresurado,
Topé á Eco y á Hersilia y en un punto
Hersilia se llegó con esta carta,
Y me la dio diciendo, “ ésta rreciue,
Narciso, de quien más que á sí te adora;” 620
Y luego se partieron ambas juntas
Sin más poder ó no querer hablarme.
- Tindaro.* Ya yo lo vi, señor, que me das quenta,
Pues yba yo á tu lado.
- Narciso.* ¿No t’espanta
Tan rrara novedad? ¿Porqué corrian? 625
- Tindaro.* No lo sé más que tú, pero leamos
Para rreyr un poco ese villete.

Narciso. Hagase como pides. Yo lo leo,
Y despues podrás tú considerarle.

Tindaro. Con esa voluntad, mido la mia. 630

Lee el titulo en abriendo y dice:

Narciso. Eco l'escruiue. Tindaro, azertaste.

Tindaro. Muestra.

Narciso. Berdad te digo.

Tindaro. No lo niego.

Prosigue.

Narciso. Los rringlones son bien brebes.

Lee el billete para si y al cabo de los ocho bersos, dice:

Narciso. Como me da á entender en quanto estima
Qualesquiera ffauores él que ama. 635

Lee más.

Agora significa que padeze
Perpetua desbentura por mi causa.

Lee más.

Agora me amonesta que no crea
De la nimpha Niseyda el desbario,
Y en esta parte su razon no entiendo. 640
Tú, Tindaro, le toma y si azertares
Lo que yo tanto dudo, me lo esplica.

Tindaro. Mal suplirá mi abilidad tu falta,
Pero en fin probaré.

Narciso. ¿ No está donosa
La novedad del caso? ¿ Quién pensara 645

Que á tanta fuerza amor llegar pudiera,
Dentro en un pecho casto y encogido,
Que asi de la bergüenza desatara
Con duras manos el estrecho nudo?

No más. No, ciego amor, buscad asiento, 650
Que no hecharéys en mis entrañas redes
Para coger el alma descuydada,

Siquiera todas quantas ay me adoren,
Y como á sumo dios altar me ofrezcan,
Que yo e de sustentar entera y libre 655
De amorosa pasion la dulce vida.

Tindaro. Quiere decir . . .

Narciso. Ya *Tindaro*, ¿ acabaste?

Tindaro. Sí.

Narciso. Pues, ¿ qué sinifica lo postrero?

Tindaro. Que se abrasa tambien por ti Niseyda,
Y constreñida de los zelos, Eco, 660
Sospechosa de que algo te diria
La cautiba Niseyda de sus males,
Quiso avisarte que xamas creyeses
Sus palabras porque yban disfrazadas,
Y mal compuestas en engaño suyo. 665

Narciso. Estas heran por Dios las competencias
Que ayer entrambas ante mí tubieron.

Tindaro. Ya te lo dixé yo, si en la memoria
De mis rrazones el estilo guardas.

Narciso. Pues no tema ninguna, que si biuo, 670
Xamas berán en my de amor un rrastro.

Tindaro. Guarda la libertad si tanto puedes,
Que yo no te aconsejo que padezcas.

Entra Liriope, su madre de Narciso.

Liriope. Narciso, estes en buen ora.

Narciso. Dios te guarde el ser que tienes. 675
¿ Qué me mandas? ¿ A qué bienes?

¿ Qué pides, madre y señora?

Liriope. E te buscado perdida,
Porque á bisitar lleguemos
Una nimpha á quien debemos 680
Mucho, y es recien benida.

Narciso. ¿ Quién, Liriope?

Liriope. Tirseyda,
Que quando te pari yo,

- Presente á todo se halló.
- Narciso.* ¿ No es la madre de Niseyda? 685
- Liriope.* Sí.
- Narciso.* Pues estoy fatigado,
Tiniendo en este lugar
Amiga tan singular
De que no me ayas hablado.
- Liriope.* Buen tiempo nos queda agora. 690
- Narciso.* Pues bamonos por mi gusto.
- Liriope.* Bamonos, porque no es justo
Que se nos dilate un ora.
- Tindaro.* Bamos, y en Narciso aprenda
Que no es bien rrendirse al fuego 695
Del niño bendado y ciego,
Quien no quisiere contienda.

JORNADA TERCERA.

Niseyda sale con una daga.

Niseyda. Cielos ynjustos y en el bien mudables,
 ¡ Qué hice? ¡ En qué pequé? ¡ Por qué offensa
 Merezco estas angustias yntratables, 700
 Y esta congoxa del ynfierno ynmensa?
 Llegué á decir mis penas espantables
 A Narciso y rrespondeme: “ Quien piensa
 Que yo me e de torzer á amar alguna,
 Piensa boluer estable la fortuna.” 705
 Dixo, y qual fiero biento arrebatado
 Se fue, quedando yo suspensa en calma.
 Sin duda los sentidos le a trocado
 Eco, y la quiere dar de sí la palma.
 Si él me oluida, por ella me a dexado. 710
 Yo e de morir hasta sacarla el alma.
 Quiza le dio el billete en que decia
 Que no pusiese fee en palabra mia.
 Por esta causa no paró á escucharme.
 Como quiera que sea, ella le adora. 715
 Yo no tengo en amor de acompañarme
 Con otra ninfa y más ynfiel traydora.
 ¡ Ea, cruel puñal, sabed bengarme!
 Teñido hireys de rroxa sangre agora,
 Que no se yguala tigre ó sierpe hollada, 720
 A la menor muger determinada.

Sale Eco sola.

Eco. O billete benturoso,
 Que ya llegaste á la mano
 De aquel que llaman humano,
 Y yo tengo por glorioso. 725
 Narciso, pues poco questa
 El rresponder con blandura,

- Salga en esta coyuntura
 Segun mi fe, la rrespuesta;
 Y si Niseyda la ynfiel, 730
 Te dijere que se aflixe,
 Guarda bien lo que yo dixe
 Dentro en el dulce papel.
- Niseyda.* Eco es ésta. ¡Beys que a dicho!
 Pues yo, loca, e de poner 735
 Entre ti y entre el plazer,
 Eternidad de entredicho.
- Eco.* Niseyda, la fe quebraste.
- Niseyda.* Quiero mi disculpa darla,
 Y juntamente acabarla; 740
 Eco, ya la ausencia baste
 Como tanto apartamiento.
 ¡ Por Dios! que has hecho gran pausa
 En la amistad. ¡ Por qué causa,
 Que yo la menor no siento? 745
- Eco.* Agora Niseyda, ¡quieres
 Dar de tus yerros disculpa?
 Conocida está la culpa.
 Yo soy Eco, y tú ¡quién heres?
- Niseyda.* Yo no soy tan desleal 750
 Que Jupiter me mandase
 Que sus faltas no aclarase,
 Y esto le guardase mal.
 Mas dexemos por mi parte
 El nuebo desabrimiento, 755
 Que ningun provecho siento,
 Ni saco bien de ynjuriarte.
- Eco.* Está ya quebrado el nudo
 De la pasada amistad,
 Ni ay amor ni ay voluntad 760
 Que se ponga por escudo.
 Tan contraria tuya soy
 Que la muerte te deseo,
 Y algun tiempo tal me beo,

Que sueño que te la doy. 765

Y basta que tu procures
Usurpar á mi Narciso,
Para que sin más aviso,
De nuestra amistad no cures.

Niseyda. ¡ De suerte que tú quisieras 770
Acabarme?

Eco. Yo mostrara
En tal paso alegre cara,
Con condicion que murieras.

Niseyda. Pues por eso, ynfame loca,
Tu yntento bengo atajar; 775
Mira si me sé vengar
Mejor del mal que me toca.

Rreciue la justa paga
Qu'el celo mortal me a hecho,
Que en el zentro de tu pecho 780
Escondo la fiera daga.

Eco. ¡ Ay traydora!

Niseyda. ¡ Pierde el brio!
¡ Muere! ¡ muere! que yo hiré
Do á nadie sospecha dé
Ni señal del rrigor mio. 785

Eco. ¡ Ynjusto cielo engañoso!
¡ Qu'es esto, Niseyda ynfame?
No huyas, perbersa. Dame
Otro golpe más rrabioso.
Satisfaz en tal sazon 790
Enteramente la ynjuria.

Ben, que no llegó tu furia
A pasar el coraçon.
Mas no fuiste tan cruel
Por no herir la pintura 795

De aquella hermosa ffigura
Que en ti biue y mora en él.
Pero en suerte tan siniestra,
Narciso, gloria es morir,

Si yo pudiese dezir 800
 Que muero por causa vuestra.
 Aunque . . . sí, muero, ¡ por Dios!
 Pues aquel sangriento filo
 Cortó de mi vida el hilo
 Por adoraros á bos. 805
 ¡ Ay, que ya me falta aliento!
 Mi Narciso, á Dios quedad,
 Que junto á la eternidad
 Os voy á guardar asiento.

*Muere y salen el dios Jupiter, el dios Cupido, y la furia
 Tesifone*

Jupiter. Bastantemente me dejais bengado. 810
 Ya acauó la traidora. Ya en la vida
 Y en la muerte la abeys atormentado.
 ¡ Perra falsa, tirana descreyda,
 Asi me enemistauas con mi Juno!
 A tanto ffuiste del temor trayda, 815
 Sin más mirar ympedimento alguno,
 Le contabas mis yerros que hasta agora,
 Viuo de berla con perpetuo ayuno.

Cupido. Suprema Magestad, en quien adora 820
 El numero de dioses que en la altura
 Y en la rregion del ancho cielo mora,
 No lo sepa tu Juno mal segura.
 Tratese aqui de dar secretamente
 Al miserable cuerpo sepultura.

Jupiter. Formar quiero un milagro que se quente 825
 Por todo el mundo mientras yo rreynare,
 De tierra en tierra[s] y de gente en gente.

Tesifone. Suplico á tu deydad nos le declare,
 Si puede ser.

Jupiter. Pretendo qu'el azeno
 De Eco dure quanto yo durare. 830
 La boz que me causó tal descontento
 Quiero que permanezca lamentando

- Perpetuamente su mortal tormento,
El cuerpo todo en ella y retorna[n]do
Para que siempre lllore y que rrepita 835
Lo que otro alguno fuere pronunciando.
Pero en esto el poder se le limita
De que solas las silabas postreras
Profiera y lo rrestante se le quita.
Estará en balles y en cabernas fieras, 840
Porque dentro en las cauas hondas suene
El azeno de Eco. Mas de beras,
Su boz sin acabar quiero que pene,
Pues ella me a dañado, descubriendo
Lo que á mi Juno tan ayrada tiene. 845
- Tesifone.* Gran prueba de tus pruebas bas haciendo,
Si eterno dexas un azeno flaco
Que con los otros miembros fue muriendo.
- Jupiter.* Beréys en esto el termino que saco 850
Para dar á entender que con quien yerra
Contra los dioses, mi furor no aplaco.
Ella rrepetirá en el balle ó ssierra
Los azentos agenos, y aun mill bezes
Los de aquel que le dio perpetua guerra.
- Cupido.* ¿De quién?
- Jupiter.* De su Narciso.
- Cupido.* Los juezes 855
Que en el cielo sentencian, te castiguen,
Libre Narciso, pues tan mal me enpezes.
Tus fieras condiciones me persiguen.
Del amor te desdeñas.
- Jupiter.* Pues aguarda,
Que presto las benganzas se te siguen. 860
Tiempo bendrá que por amores arda.
Agora ambos á dos le dad conquista,
Qu'el cumplimiento desto no se tarda;
Solo se ponga agora en nuestra lista
Que Juno esté ynorante de tal caso,
Porque no abrá balor que la rresista. 865

- Tesifone.* No es menester sacar á campo rraso
Cosa qu'está de suyo conozida.
- Jupiter.* Pues no nos detengamos más un paso.
Este cuerpo traed, porque cumplida
De todo punto mi promesa sea. 870
- Cupido.* Tan ynmensa deydad, es cosa fea
No ser en un ynstante obedecida.
- Banse llebando Cupido y la furia Tesifone el cuerpo de Eco,
y salen Liriope, madre de Narciso, y Tindaro.*
- Liriope.* Tindaro, ¿ qué te parece
De Narciso? ¿ Es agradable?
¿ Es curioso y conersable? 875
¿ Tiene amores ó aborreze?
Dilo, y en nada me mientas,
Que yo como madre suya
Y como señora tuya
Quiero pedir estas quantas; 880
Porque le amo en tanto extremo
Que rrezelando el destino,
Quanto á quererle me ynclino,
Tanto su fortuna temo.
- Tindaro.* Lo que yo sabré contar 885
De Narciso es un balor
Que xamas se bio mexor,
Ni le pudo el cielo dar.
Una prudencia divina,
Un blando estilo suabe, 890
Un hablar modesto y graue
Y una razon pura y fina;
Y en lo que más as pedido,
Zertificaréte yo,
Que nunca xamas le hirio 895
De amor el rrayo enzendido.
- Liriope.* Pienso que soy engañada,
Porque aquesos ornamentos
Son más encarezimientos

	Que de berdad apurada.	900
	¿ Cómo tengo de creer	
	Que biua un mozo tan sano,	
	Que no le haga amor umano	
	Entre sus llamas arder?	
<i>Tindaro.</i>	Pues por el cielo te juro	905
	Que en Narciso es tan creyble,	
	Que tengo por ymposible	
	Que rrompa el amor su muro.	
<i>Liriope.</i>	Calla, torpe, que si toma	
	El arco un poco furioso,	910
	Al pecho más criminoso	
	Le postra en tierra y le doma.	
	No se deue depreciar	
	El niño dios de enzenderle.	
<i>Tindaro.</i>	Por más que pruebe á benzerle,	915
	Será en vano el trabajar.	
<i>Liriope.</i>	Calla ya, que en la flaqueza	
	De lo humano es ley constante	
	Que amemos lo semejante	
	A nuestra naturaleza;	920
	Y asi no es artificial	
	El querer bien á mugeres;	
	Antes si azertar quisieres,	
	Lo llamarás natural.	
<i>Tindaro.</i>	Ya sé que en qualquiera parte	925
	La llama de amor divina	
	No nos yere por dotrina,	
	Ni nos enciende por arte;	
	Pero el balor que consiste	
	En Narciso tanto dura,	930
	Que aun á su propia natura	
	Como ynbencible rresiste.	
<i>Liriope.</i>	Pues á fe que me alegrara	
	De que por sencilla bia,	
	En rrason de cortesia,	935
	De servir damas tratara.	

Porque asi creze la estima,
 Luzen los trajes y galas,
 Subense al cielo las alas,
 Y la natura se lima. 940
 El entendimiento rudo
 Viene á cobrar agudeza,
 Y queda de su corteza
 Perpetuamente desnudo.
 Mas pues se guarda con fuerza 945
 De que amor no le destruya,
 Esta resistencia suya,
 Plega á Dios que no se tuerza.
Tindaro. No torzerá segun creo,
 Porqu'es su prudencia tanta, 950
 Que pienso que se adelanta
 Mill leguas á tu deseo.

Sale un criado ó criada á llamar á Polidora.

Criada. Liriope, mi señora,
 Tirseyda te envía á llamar.
Liriope. ¿No puede un rrato esperar? 955
Criada. No.
Liriope. Pues vamos, Polidora.
 Tú quedarás aguardando
 A Narciso.
Tindaro. Asi lo haré.
 ¡Muger enfadosa, be, [aparte]
 Que cansa estarte escuchando! 960
 Quiero esperar al caro señor mio
 En este sitio; pero pasos suenan.
 El deue de benir. Atender quiero.

Sale Narciso y dize.

Narciso. Bengo buscando á Tindaro mi paxe,
 Y no e podido descubrir su rastro 965
 Desde oy que me dexó en cas de Tirseyda.

- Tindaro.* Narciso es éste que en mi busca viene.
Enojado le tiene my tardanza ;
Quiero escuchar lo que de mí murmura.
- Narciso.* Selvas, decidme dél porque en buscarle, 970
Mucha parte de tiempos e gastado.
- Rresponde Eco.* Ado.
- Narciso.* Hado deue de ser que le desvia
De hallar á su señor, y rreyna en todos
Los criados que sirben, yo lo apuesto.
- Eco.* Esto.
- Narciso.* Esto sé qu'es berdad pura y sencilla, 975
Y rrazon libre de engañosa mancha.
- Eco.* Ancha.
- Narciso.* Ancha floresta, pues en vuestro seno
Deue de andar pisando el fresco valle ;
Decidme en qué lugar está escondido.
- Eco.* Ydo.
- Narciso.* ¡ Ay Dios ! ¡ qué boz es ésta que rrepite 980
Mis ultimos acentos, que pareze
Que sale de entre algun peñasco hueco ?
- Eco.* Eco.
- Narciso.* Eco me rrespondieron, ¡ cielo santo !
Como tal novedad, quiero provarme
A escuchar, que quiza de sordo peco. 985
- Eco.* Eco.
- Narciso.* Eco tornó á decir, ¡ o miserable !
¡ De lexos me rrespondes, Eco triste ?
¡ Tanto temes mi furia que no llegas,
Sino que quieres alexarte asi ?
- Eco.* Sí.
- Narciso.* ¿ Sí ? Pues no pienses á piedad moverme. 990
- Tindaro.* ¿ A visto alguno semejante monstruo, [aparte]
Que la ninfa de lexos sus palabras,
Enzendida de amor, rrepite á bozes ?
- Narciso.* Eco, muy mal te trata tu fortuna.
- Eco.* Una.
- Narciso.* Una deue de ser estable y queda, 995

- Mudando en los tormentos su costumbre,
 Pues que nunca xamas su rrueda buelbe
 Siquiera en el menor de tus enojos.
- Eco.* Ojos.
- Narciso.* Ojos son las entradas que rreciben
 Los rrayos de amor hasta que tocan 1000
 En el zentro del pecho y las entrañas,
 Llebandose la vista por su palma.
- Eco.* Alma.
- Narciso.* Alma sustenta tu cuytado cuerpo,
 Y ambos á dos amor abrasa agora.
- Eco.* Hora.
- Narciso.* ¿ Hora no tienes tú de algun descanso? 1005
- Tindaro.* Ni yo la e de tener de más tibieza.
 Narciso, el cielo tu salud prospere!
- Narciso.* O Tindaro, que en biendote se apartan
 Con nuebo gozo las más justas yras.
 ¿ Dónde as estado? que á buscarte vine 1010
 Por la spesura de la amena selua.
- Tindaro.* Un rrato con tu madre, y otro oyendo
 El llanto de Eco que á tu boz rresponde.
- Narciso.* ¿ Y no t'espanta?
- Tindaro.* Como á ti me admira.
- Narciso.* Pues ¿ quieres dulce Tindaro que bamos 1015
 Ambos á dos por medio el ancho bosque
 A saber en qué parte está encubierta,
 Y entender cierto si la voz es suya?
- Tindaro.* Esa rrazon me hurtaste de la lengua.
 Rruegote que un momento no tardemos. 1020
- Narciso.* Pues por my voluntad luego partamos,
 Y aqui contemple quien de beras ama,
 Que á nadie quiera sin qu'esté rendido
 Primero al rrayo de su hermosa llama.

JORNADA CUARTA Y ULTIMA.

Niseyda, nimpha, sola.

Niseyda. Cielo, dime, ¿ á quién as dado 1025
Tan sin rrazon un alma que criaste?
¿ A quien la as sometido y entregado?
¿ Ay duro amor, que no ay rrazon que baste,
Si en las entrañas haces fundamento,
A derribarte con algun contraste! 1030
Pesame, que tu esquiha pena siento
Dentro en el corazon tan arraygada
Que eternamente durará el cimientio.
Ya estás, Eco enemiga, despojada
De la vida, y yo libre de sospecha, 1035
Por lo que fuiste á mi amistad llegada.
Mas esto, amor ynsano, ¿ qué aprovecha
Si tu ynbenzible fuego en mí se anida,
Y el alma dexe compasion desecha?
O si pudiese un rrato aqui dormida, 1040
Dar siquiera al espiritu doliente
Alguna sombre de alegria fingida;
Que á quien doblado mal velando siente,
Basta qu'el bien le muestre asi á desora
Las berdes rropas y la hermosa frente. 1045
Beré si puedo desligarme un ora
Deste mal ymportuno y travajoso,
Y rreclinando el cuerpo en el rreposito,
Quiero provar si el alma se mejora.

Aqui se echa en tierra á dormir y sale Narciso solo.

Narciso. En todo el balle no e hallado 1050
De Eco el menor yndicio,
Por mi fe qu'es un officio
Buscarla bien escusado.

- Solo á mis bozes rresponde,
 Como quexosa llorando; 1055
 Mas yerro en yrla buscando
 Sin saber á do s'esconde.
 Donde más la boz sonaba,
 Por el bosque me meti,
 Y á mi Tindaro perdi. 1060
- ¡ O qué sed traygo tan braua!
 Quiero llegar á esta fuente,
 Y el agua clara bebiendo,
 Hirán luego ffeneciendo
 La sed y el calor ardiente. 1065
 Templad, ondas cristalinas,
 Y rrefrescad tanto fuego,
 Porque en haciendo mi rruego,
 Pienso llamaros diuinas.
Niseyda entre suenos dize.
- Niseyda.* ¡ Es sueño aqueste ó deseo? 1070
 No toco la blanca mano.
 ¡ A sueño, pues baste en vano,
 Y yo sin duda te creo!
- Narciso.* ¡ Balame Dios! ¡ qué belleza
 Tiene adentro el agua pura! 1075
 Parece que la natura
 Mostró en ella su destreza.
 ¡ Qué rrostros, qué dos estrellas!
 ¡ Qué cabello y qué mexillas!
 ¡ Qué colores tan sencillas 1080
 Sin arte, y qué zexas bellas!
 ¡ Qué soberano semblante!
 ¡ Qué boca tan bien compuesta!
 Creo que caro me questa,
 Dios, el tenerte delante. 1085
- Niseyda.* ¡ Oxala tan benturosa,
 Sueño el cielo me criara,
 Que aquella mano tocara
 Que triunfa de mí gloriosa!

- Pero traydor, no me affixas
Tantas bezes con burlarme,
Y en esto del engañarme,
Suplicote te corrixas. 1090
- Narciso.* Angel en humana forma,
Perdona, porque en ti beo 1095
Qu'el donayre y el meneo
Con mí propio se conforma.
Hechame al cuello tus lazos,
Criatura perfeta y santa;
Ciñe agora mi garganta 1100
Con el nudo desos brazos.
No quisiste, a burlador!
Pues ¡ cómo, bella deydad,
En tan alta calidad
Cabén mañas de traydor? 1105
Mira bien que no consiento
Que me burlen y me ultrajen.
Muestrame, divina ymagen,
Ese rrostro más contento.
- Niseyda.* Amor, dexame dormir. 1110
Mas no es mylagro que llegues
A qu'el sosiego me niegues,
Pues me niegas el viuir.
- Narciso.* Mira que de libre y cuerdo,
A cautibo me as pasado. 1115
Mira el extremo en qu'e dado
Que por tus ojos me pierdo.
¡ Quién selbas más crudamente
Que yo puede aber querido?
¡ Quién más libre y más bencido 1120
Tan solo de un ac[c]idente?
Con los gestos trato un gesto,
Que no me hartó de mirarle.
Mirole y no puedo hallarle
En la parte qu'está puesto. 1125
Y no me lo estorba aqui

La furia del mar yncnado,
 Ni algun muro de fosado
 Qu'esté delante de my.
 Solo vasta á embarazarme 1130
 Un agua conmigo ynjusta,
 Y sé bien qu'el otro gusta
 En extremo de abrazarme.
 Porque si la fuente beso,
 Boca arriba se me pone, 1135
 Y á rreciuir se dispone
 Los alagos de su preso.
 Quando abrazarle llegué,
 Lo mismo que a mí le auino;
 Dos mill cosas ymagino, 1140
 Y ninguna dellas sé.
 Si yo lloro, el se entristeze,
 Y aunqu'el agua nos diuide,
 Tanto conmigo se mide,
 Que otro Narciso pareze. 1145
 Yo soy éste tras quien ando;
 Mas agrauio le hago en ello,
 Que en decir que puedo sello,
 Con él me voy ygualando.
 Mas todavia rrecelo 1150
 Que en este ynfernal abismo,
 Solo el amor de mí mismo,
 Pone fuerzas á mi duelo.
 ¿Rogaré, desbenturado?
 No; porque á mi e de rrogarme, 1155
 Y aunque algo quiero negarme,
 Lo tengo todo entregado.
 Conmigo está lo que adoro,
 Yo lo gobierno y lo rrijo,
 Que no me acauo ni aflixo 1160
 Por el axeno tesoro.
Niseyda. Tiempo es ya de que despierte
 Quien tiene la muerte al lado,

Y que lleue el pecho armado
Contra enemigo tan fuerte. 1165

O amor, y quien te tocara
Con la fuerza de tu fuego,
¿ Por qué en tu propio sosiego
Bieras si nos questa cara?

Narciso. ¿ O si para que acabara 1170
De entender mi llaga fiera,
El sumo dios permitiera
Que del cuerpo me apartara!

¿ O desta profunda fuente
Al que contemplo delante, 1175

Pudiera ber un ynstante
Por estos ojos ausente!
Biniera á entender, sin duda,
No ser yo la perfeccion
De la diuina bision 1180

Que ni se muebe ni muda.
Como quiera que ello sea,
¿ Cielos! yo me abraso y ardo.
Si e de acabarme, ya tardo.
Dadme el fin porque lo crea. 1185

Quiero sacarte de adentro.

¿ Cruel! mas ¿ do te desvias?

¿ Ay cuytado! pues ya huyas
De berme llegar al zentro.

Niseyda. Sin duda que si acabase 1190
De partir de aquesta vida,
Que ymaxino que la herida
Del corazon se templase.

Un pensamiento profundo
Aora m'está ocupando, 1195
Por dicha me yrá sacando
La ymaginacion del mundo.

Narciso. ¿ Ay, qu'en mis fuerzas no ay!

- Y en esta amorosa lucha
Delante de quien m'escucha, 1200
No aprovecha decir "¡ ay!"
- Eco.* Ay.
- Narciso.* ¿ Eres tú quien rrespondio,
Bella ymagen, á mis quexas?
¿ Por qué confuso me dexas?
Dime sí, ó rresponde no. 1205
- Eco.* No.
- Narciso.* Mal haces, pues por ti trueco
Mi descanso en llanto triste.
Declara si rrespondiste,
Que me consumo y me seco.
- Eco.* Eco.
- Narciso.* Eco fue quien repitio 1210
Mis azentos desdichados;
Eco, que de los cuytados
En el esquadron entró.
Que aun te dueles de mis males,
Eco, pues ¿ por qué te ausentas? 1215
Ben, agora, porque sientas
Las que padezco mortales.
- Eco.* Tales.
- Narciso.* Tales son, yo los confieso;
Pero sabrás declararme,
Si e de venir acabarme 1220
Con tan aspero suzesos.
- Eco.* Eso.
- Narciso.* ¿ Eso dices que ha de ser?
Basta lo que me rrespondes,
Y pesame que te ascondes,
Eco, para no me ber. 1225
Mas si pena no te doy,
Suplicote que me digas
Quando acabarán fatigas
Esta persona que soy.
- Eco.* Oy.

- Narciso.* Güelgome que sea tan presto. 1230
Mas dime, ¿ tu corazon
Sustenta de tu pasion
El acostumbrado resto?
- Eco.* Esto.
- Narciso.* ¿ Esto dura todavia? 1235
Pues muramos ambos juntos.
Hagan los cuerpos difuntos
En la muerte conpañia.
Y pues tan poco nos va
En morir segun estamos,
La vida juntos perdamos, 1240
Si no estás sin ella ya.
- Eco.* Ya.
- Narciso.* ¿ Ya la perdiste y por quién?
¿ Fue por mi causa, señora?
No encubras la boz agora.
Rresponde si azierto bien. 1245
- Eco.* Bien.
- Narciso.* Yo te e muerto? Pues berás
Agora en mí tal mudanza,
Que más aspera venganza
No puedas pedir xamas.
- Eco.* Más.
- Narciso.* ¿ Aun mayor la pides cierto? 1250
Pero gran locura digo;
Estoy hablando contigo,
Y e pensado que te as muerto.
- Niseyda.* Pienso que quanto a pasado 1255
Juno lo entiende y lo saue,
Y que un castigo graue
Me tiene el fin señalado.
Fyguero que por mi daño
Al bello Narciso mata.
¿ O Dios, cómo me maltrata 1260
Pensamiento tan estraño!
Ya pareze que le miro

- Tendido muerto en el suelo,
Y que yo desago el belo
Del alma dando un suspiro. 1265
- ¡ Ay ymaxinar profundo!
Figúraseme, y no es vano,
Que e de morir á tu mano
Segun lo que en ti me fundo.
- Narciso.* Hermosa y serena cara, 1270
¡ No te mueben los enojos
De quien con humidos ojos,
A las piedras ablandara?
Mira que qual raxa zera
Llegada á la biua brasa, 1275
Me desago y me traspasa
Ese fuego de tu esfera;
Y qual matutina elada
Que desaze el sol caliente,
Se acaua est'alma y se siente 1280
Derretida y abrasada.
- ¡ Cómo pues? ? De qué te enojas?
Muy triste rostro me muestras.
Matenme las manos vuestras,
Yrremediables congoxas. 1285
- ¡ Ay de mí! ; Ya me enflaquezco!
No puedo tenerme en pies,
Ni llebar otro ynteres
Más de que por ti padezco.
- Niseyda.* Ya viene á matarme Juno; 1290
¡ Paso diosa! ; qué desmayo!
- Narciso.* Tendido en el suelo cayo,
Sin señal d'esfuerzo alguno.
La ponzoña ba creciendo
De la amorosa saeta, 1295
Y con la llama secreta
Me boy todo consumiendo.
Ya fallezco, ya cay,
Ya el adberso cielo quiso

Que pereciese Narciso 1300

Enamorado de sí.

Porque como otra belleza

No fuese á rrendirle fuerte,

Sacó las armas la muerte

De su propia gentileza. 1305

Y esto para disculparme,

Qu'el sumo dios sin segundo,

No halló belleza en el mundo

Bastante para matarme.

Y así permitio que diese 1310

Agora en suceso tal,

Porque quien fue sin ygal,

Por un sin ygal muriese.

Ya, ya, sin aliento estoy.

Adios, ymagen diuina, 1315

Y esa ffuente cristalina

Acompaña, pues me boy.

Y mira quanto bastaron

Las zentellas de tu fragua,

Que aun en la hondura del agua 1320

Desd'el zentro me abrasaron.

Muere.

Niseyda. ¡O pensamiento sin seso,

Y como me buelues loca!

El esfuerzo se me apoca.

Ya no puedo con el peso. 1325

¡Ay Dios, qué profundidad

La desta ymaginacion,

Y qué terrible pasion

En tan fragil calidad!

Rreciue en tus brazos bellos 1330

Est'alma, Narciso mio,

Que ya el mortal desbario

Me arrastra por los cabellos.

Quédate en paz, que ya muero,

Y advierte por qué camino 1335

Un pensamiento sin tino
Me lleba al despeñadero.

Muere y entran Liriope, Tirseyda y Tindaro.

- Liriope.* ¡ Quieres apostar que hallamos,
Tirseyda, en este lugar,
Nuestros hijos?
- Tirseyda.* No ay dudar, 1340
Sino que aqui los beamos.
- Tindaro.* Son los más alegres puestos
De todo el balle sin duda.
- Liriope.* ¡ Plega á Dios que alguno acuda!
- Tindaro.* Pues, ¡ qué dos cuerpos son estos? 1345
- Liriope.* ¡ Duermen?
- Tindaro.* No.
- Liriope.* Miralo bien.
- Tindaro.* Muertos estan.
- Tirseyda.* ¡ Cómo asi?
- Liriope.* Torna á mirarlo.
- Tindaro.* ¡ Ay de my,
Que Narciso es éste!
- Liriope.* ¡ Quién?
- Tindaro.* Narciso.
- Tirseyda.* Y ésta Niseyda. 1350
- Liriope.* ¡ O hijo más qu'el sol claro,
Y más que la vida charo!
- Tirseyda.* ¡ O desdichada Tirseyda!
- Tindaro.* ¡ O noble señor! ¡ quién hizo
Tan desusada crueldad? 1355
- Liriope.* ¡ Quién su dura voluntad
En tu muerte satisfizo?
¡ No rrespondes, hijo amado?
¡ No te buelues á tu madre,
Pues no ay aliuió que quadre 1360
Con su corazon cuytado?
- Tirseyda.* Dulze Niseyda, ¡ qué causa

- De tal desdicha tubiste?
 ¡Cómo en tus años hiciste
 Tan cruel y mortal pausa? 1365
- Tindaro.* ¡O caso horrible y azeruo,
 My luz, my señor y abrigo!
 Rresponde agora á un amigo,
 Que tiene parte de sierbo.
- Liriope.* Narciso ynsigne, despierta, 1370
 Y si en ti bigor consiste,
 Rresponde á una madre triste,
 Que tiene parte de muerta.
- Tirseyda.* Escucha my llanto tierno,
 Niseyda, y por él movida, 1375
 Socorre á la pobre vida
 Que tiene parte de ynfierno.

Entra Jupiter con la furia Tesifone, Cupydo y el Silencio.

- Jupiter.* Cesen agora los lamentos banos,
 Nayades, nimphas; no bañeys el suelo,
 Ni os consumais en escusadas lagrimas. 1380
- Liriope.* ¡Benganza, soberano y alto Jupiter,
 Del hecho más atroz que nunca el mundo
 Entre las obras de crueldad a visto!
- Tirseyda.* ¡Benganza, eterno rey, benganza clamo!
- Tindaro.* ¡Benganza ante tus pies ynmensa pido! 1385
- Jupiter.* No ay para qué pedirla de tal arte,
 Pues para mejorarlos en su suerte
 Permitio que muriesen mi justicia;
 Y bien te puedes acordar, Liriope,
 Del antiguo pronostico del sauio 1390
 En lo qual te conto de tu Narciso,
 Que gozaria del mundo tanto tiempo,
 Quanto pudiese estar sin conozerse.
- Liriope.* Ya yo me acuerdo, Jupiter.
- Jupiter.* Pues sabe
 Que llegando á bebe[r] en esa ffuente 1395
 Tu Narciso, al momento conociose,

- Biendo en el agua su sereno rostro,
 Y como contempló la gentileza
 De qu'el hado y el cielo le adornaron,
 De su propia aficion quedó tan preso 1400
 Que vino poco á poco á consumirse,
 Y asi perdio la uida en conozerse.
- Tindaro.* ¡ O cosa nunca vista ni tratada !
Liriope. ¡ O estraña nobedad, o raro termino !
 ¡ Quién me pronosticara tal desdicha ? 1405
 Recuerda, mi Narciso, que aun no creo
 Que puedes muerto ser.
- Jupiter.* Aplaca el llanto,
 Y saue que murio por él Niseyda.
- Tirseyda.* ¡ Cómo ?
Jupiter. Quisole bien y él desdeñóla,
 Y el pensamiento de no hallar remedio 1410
 Vino con duras fuerzas acabarla.
- Tirseyda.* ¡ O nimpha pobre, o aspero Narciso !
 ¡ O cruda muerte, o miserable madre !
 Abreme tus cabernas, hondo ynfierno.
 Cubreme con tu niebla, eterna noche. 1415
 Corta, parca cruel, mis tristes años,
 Que sembraré de pestilencia el suelo,
 Si me sustentan en él con my desdicha.
- Jupiter.* Ahora callad, pues tanto os lo encomiendo,
 Que yo dexaré de ellos tal memoria 1420
 Que quantos viuen oy, tengan ynvidia,
 Porque á Niseyda bolueré en estrella,
 Y á Narciso, pues ffue flor de hermosura,
 En flor que á las demas llebe bentaja,
 La qual tendrá tambien el mismo nombre 1425
 De Narciso.
- Liriope.* Yo soy, pues más no puede,

1409. MS. quisola bien y él desdeñóla,

1412. MS. ospero Narciso.

1418. MS. Si me sustentanto en el con my desdicha.

- A tus rreales preceptos ovediente.
- Tirseyda.* Por esa parte yo tambien me ynclino
A lo que dispusiere tu grandeza.
- Jupiter.* Pues tú, Furia ynferral, el cuerpo lleba 1430
De Narciso, y tú, Amor, él de la nimpha.
- Tesifone.* Por my no quedará.
- Cupido.* Por mí tampoco.
- Liriope.* Pues yo quiero seguir el mortal cuerpo
De mi Narciso.
- Tirseyda.* Yo con tu licencia
El de Niseyda.
- Jupiter.* Andad, que no os lo impido. 1435
Tú Silencio, contrario de la Ffama,
Harás que aquestos hechos no se digan
En publico, hasta tanto que yo aplaque
Con dulce amor á la soberbia Juno.
- Silencio.* Yo pribaré á la Ffama de su trompa, 1440
Y cubriré las cosas con tal manto
Que hasta que tú permitas que se rrompa,
Dure y engendre en tu deydad espanto.
No mostrará la Fama aqui su trompa,
Ni agora la baldrán sus bozes tanto 1445
Que me benga á benzer. ¡ Vamos! No temas.
- Jupiter.* Bien en servirme con lealtad t'estremas.
A Hersilia, que de Eco ffue criada,
En una enfermedad la tengo puesta
Tal, que vendrá á morir sin decir nada. 1450
- Silencio.* Pues alto Rey, partamos.
- Jupiter.* Nada resta,
Sino que viua desde aqui avisada
Qualquier gente mortal y sea modesta,
Porque si quieren mis divinos brazos,
Cayrá el cielo en la tierra hecho pedazos. 1455

FINIS.

De Don ffranco de la Cueba y Silva.

1435. MS. andad que nos lo impido.

APPENDIX

A number of poems by Francisco de la Cueva, which are here printed, are found in a manuscript collection of poetry in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, No. 4127. The title of the volume is: *Libro de Romances nuevos con su tabla, echo en el anno 1592*. Pages 1-167 contain various anonymous romances, and others of Juan de Salinas, Góngora, Lope de Vega and Liñan de Riaza. On page 168 begin the verses of Francisco de la Cueva. Sr Serrano y Sanz¹ has published a number of verses of Doña Leonor de la Cueva from the same volume. I have also added a few verses of Francisco de la Cueva, found in a manuscript collection, No. 3700, also in the Biblioteca Nacional.

I.

MS. 4127, pp. 168-170

SEXTINA.

Una fenix dybyna en medyo un fuego,
Vi dentro de un sagrado y bello nido,
Que otra su igual no a conozido el mundo.
La ermosura de el cuerpo y de las plumas
Me trajo tan por fuerza á ber su llama,
Que en un punto me ardyo el pecho y la vista.

Era byen dura de zegar tal vista,
Mas, ¿ qué dureza no destenpla el fuego?
¿ Quyen podrá no myrar tan bella llama?
¿ Quyen por myrarla no se azerca al nydo,
Y quyen llegado no arde y con qué plumas
Huyrse puede si es su yesca el mundo?

¹ *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Escritoras españolas*, Vol. I. p. 300-339.

Amor, ynzendyo unybersal de el mundo,
 En byrtud de ella, rrinde cualquier vista.
 Las armas y las flechas son las plumas;
 El mobymiento de ellas le da fuego,
 Y la que rreyna y triunfa en este nydo,
 De su serena luz le presta llama.

¿ Quén no pyerde la vida en esta llama
 Por rrenazer con nueba forma al mundo,
 En la dybyna lunbre de aquel nydo,
 Que al mismo sol alunbra con su vista?
 ¿ Por quén estube yo tras yelo y fuego,
 Elebado en el rrostro y en las plumas?

Nyebe es el pecho y brasas son las plumas;
 My espyrytu dyo fuerzas á su llama,
 De lagrimas ardientes fertil nydo.
 A my yelo la llama bolbyo en fuego;
 Ardyose el zentro y byo abrasar el nydo,
 Y de temor serlo, el alma y la bista.

Mylagros de el amor en solo un nydo¹
 Que abrasa y yela el ayre con las plumas,
 Tyerra es mi cuerpo, rryo caudal my bista,
 La nyebe, fuego, y ayre fryo, la llama;
 Y en la dyscordya de este nuebo mundo,
 Se juntan agua, tyerra, byento y fuego.

Myentras bybyendo, muero yo en tal fuego,
 Esta fenys rrenaze, y desde el nydo
 Bate las alas á pesar de el mundo.
 Bolando al zielo sigo yo sus plumas,
 Y alli torno á purgar como oro en llama
 De objetos byles la enzendida bista.

¹ This line should end with the word bista.

Pero como es umana nuestra vista,
Fazilmente se cansa y queda el fuego,
Espantandome á my como la llama
Que oblyga al zisne á conservar su nydo
Dentro de el agua por salbar las plumas
De el fuego con que ardyo Faeton al mundo.

Bolar quyere my estrella á mejor mundo,
Por ser el nuestro yndigno de su vista,
Y asi sacude las doradas plumas,
Mas no se tyenpla con ausenzia el fuego
Que en mys ojos yryo en el sacro nydo,
Y abrasó el corazon de elada llama.

Ycaro en agua, yo en eterna llama,
Dejase de my memorya al mundo,
Que my esperanza, fiel al byen digno nydo
Y byen sereno zielo de mi bista,
Fue la deydad que con sagrado fuego
Me ardyo la zera y me abrasó las plumas.

Por la sonbra de sus bellas plumas,
Dyo al alma rrefrijeryo en tanta llama,
Y adoraron los ojos aquel fuego
Que en un punto formó y desyzo el mundo
Deste terreno cuerpo y desta vista
Que el corazon rryndyo al amado nydo.

¡Dychosos corazones, que á tal nydo
Subyr pudystes con umanas plumas!
¡Dychosa el alma que con mortal bista
Rrecojyo el sol de aquella ynmensa llama
Que á ejemplo de Faeton abrasa el mundo,
Pero con más ermoso y claro fuego!

Sustentome de muerte y bybo en fuego.
¡Estraña salamandria, rraro nydo!

¡Espantoso manjar, nuevo en el mundo!
 Quiero correr sin pies, volar sin plumas.
 Soy zera que me acabo con la llama,
 Y abe que al sol rresisto con la vista.

¡Qué duro marmol no arderá tu vista
 Byba luz, byba piedra, bybo fuego?
 ¡Qué corazon no dejará tu llama?
 ¡Quién con justyzia ocupará tu nydo?
 ¡Quién será digno de tocar tus plumas?
 Y ¡ á quién arás tan singular de el mundo?

Presteme vida el zielo, ayuda el mundo,
 Atrebymyento la lyjera vista,
 Esfuerzo el alma, el pensamyento plumas,
 Socorro la justyzia, lumbre el fuego,
 Para que azierte á lebantarme al nydo,
 Donde esta fenix se rrenueva en llama.

II.

MS. 4127, p. 171

SONETO.¹

Porzia despues que de el famoso Bruto
 Supo y creyo la myserable muerte,
 "No bybyré sin ty," con pecho fuerte
 Dyjo, llorando sobre el casto luto.
 "Ved que las armas me escondeys sin fruto,
 Jente curiosa de ynpedir my suerte;
 Pues me da amor con que á pagarle azierte
 Desta lypyeza y desta fe el trybuto."

¹ The first lines of this sonnet were quoted by Lope de Vega in his tribute to the author in the *Laurel de Apolo*. It is taken from Book I, Epigram 43 of Martial.

It was printed in the *Primera parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres* of Espinosa, Valladolid, 1605.

Tragó las brasas, y aunque alla sintyeron
 Que las de amor, si amor lo permytyera,
 Bastarán á benzer su fuerza esquiba,
 Como todos á yntento ygual bynyeron,
 Conzertaronse al fin de tal manera,
 Que la mataron por dejarla viva.

III.¹

MS. 4127, p. 171

DESCRIBZION DE EL AMOR.

Preñada Venus un dya,
 Zerca de parir se byo,
 Y á las Parcas preguntó
 Al cabo que pariria.

Laquesis, un tigre dyjo,
 Cloto, un duro pedernal,
 Atropos, fuego ynferral
 Qu'en las almas está fijo.

Mas todo se cunplyo luego
 Pues tras un grave dolor,
 Paryo Benus al Amor,
 Que es pedernal, tygre y fuego.

¹ This is a translation of a Latin epigram of the Valencian poet, Jaime Falcó, which begins as follows:

*Alma Venus praegnans cum jam
 Prope partus adesset
 Consuluit Parcas quid paritur foret.*

A translation of it by Salinas is found in the *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* of Gracian (chap. xxxix). It was also translated by D. Agustín de Salazar y Torres and by José Morell, who published it in his *Poesías selectas* (Tarragona, 1683). Another version is found in the *Obras sueltas* of Lupercio and Bartolomé de Argensola, Madrid, 1889, Vol. II, p. 37. It formed part of the argument of Calderon's comedia *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*.

IV.

MS. 4127, p. 172

SONETO.

Fili, siempre mudable y siempre yngrata,
¿ Quál imperio mortal pudo vencerte,
Si amor que triunfa de la humana suerte,
Como á señora uniuersal te trata?
Con tus hermosos lazos prenda y ata
Los que condena á rigurosa muerte.
Tu variedad les da veneno fuerte
Que á la paciencia descompone y mata.
¿ Por qué enflaqueces tanto el sufrimiento
De quien te rinde el alma y la esperanza,
Y quanto más se humilia, más le offendes?
Si es causa de calor el mouimiento,
¿ Por qué, pues cada punto hazes mudança,
Con tantos mouimientos no te enciendes?

V.

MS. 4127, p. 173

SONETO.

Perdime dentro en mí como en desierto,
Y e de salir de mí para buscarme
Donde más que el morir, siento el hallarme,
Pues conmigo e de hallar mi desconzierto.
La esperanza dormida, Amor despierto,
Viua la voluntad para matarme.
De tantas partes siento amenaçarme,
Que viendome aneger, huyo del puerto.
Unas veces corrijo el accidente,
Otras me entrego al daño sin medida.
No tengo cosa cierta en mi aluedrio.
La raçon lo conoce y lo consiente,
Teniendo por merced rendir la vida,
Donde es ley de raçon el desuario.

VI.

MS. 4127, pp. 174-177

DE DON FRANCISCO DE LA CUEBA QUE UIBA MAS ANOS.

Desengaños que soleis
Seruir de remedio cierto,
Remediadme si podeis
Y haréis milagro en un muerto.

No me engañen esperanzas
Embueeltas en desuario,
Sujetas á mil mudanzas
Que turban el albedrio.

Reconozca el sufrimiento
Que fue gran desyqualdad,
Sentir con entendimiento
El no tener voluntad.

De tan illustre caudal,
No triunfe un amor tan vano,
Ni diuida lo immortal
Por solo juntar lo humano.

Fiarse de un noble dueñc
Es generosa opinion ;
Pero lo contrario es sueño,
Donde duerme la raçon.

Confianzas que no tienen
Fundamento ni medida,
Por momentos ban y bienen,
Y dan y quitan la vida.

Ya las dejo, ya las pierdo,
Aunque no duraron poco ;
Pues quando me hizieron cuerdo,
Ya no pude ser más loco.

Tal estoy que á mí me temo.
No conozco ni aun mi nombre,
Que pasar de extremo á extremo
Es mudarse todo un hombre.

Y en qualquiera puede tanto
La mudanza de su suerte,
Que del mal al bien da espanto,
Y del bien al mal da muerte.

Tengo á los ojos presentes
Los daños que e padezido,
Y el mirarlos como ausentes
Es la gloria del sentido.

Que quando el mal haze ausencia,
Y solo queda su historia,
Lo más graue á la paciencia
Es más dulce á la memoria.

Tan libre y sano me beo
De aquel antiguo dolor,
Que algunas vezes deseo
Que ubiera sido mayor.

Porque el gusto es breue y vario
Quanto lo fue la tristeza;
Que ella imprime en su contrario
Su mesma naturaleza;

Y asi para acrezentar
La fuerça del alegria,
Es menester que el pesar
Aya tenido porfia.

Ya en un tiempo se inuentauan
Mil tormentos contra mí,

Que todos juntos mataban,
Y cada qual de por sí.

Cesaron sus inuenciones
Porque vino el escarmiento
De quien bio las sinrraones,
Y recogio el pensamiento.

Siempre los que más se ziegan,
Cobran mayor liuertad,
Quando los ygrauios llegan
A matar la voluntad.

Muere entonces la pasion.
Buelue á su punto el sosiego,
Y el oro de la raçon
Sale más puro del fuego.

¡ O yngratitud venturosa !
Yo te adoro y te vendigo,
Pues con mano rigurosa
Me compusiste conmigo.

A estimar en mucho vengo
La zeguedad en que estube,
Porque otro tiempo la tube,
Y porque ya no la tengo.

VII.

MS. 4127, p. 178

SONETO.

Ausente estoy de donde el alma tengo.
Soy un cuerpo que alla dejó la vida,
A tan dulces memorias ofrecida
Que solo en fuerça dellas, me entretengo.

Con la memoria y sin el alma vengo,
 Que estos milagros haze una partida,
 Quando la voluntad viue rendida
 A la perpetua union que yo mantengo.
 ¿Quién viesse, o Laura, esos hermosos ojos,
 Donde su templo eterno y sin segundo
 Tienen la honestidad y la velleza?
 Pero yo volueré con los despojos,
 Seguros de mi fe, mostrando al mundo
 Que ya en ausencia puede aber firmeza.

VIII.

MS. 4127, pp. 179-182

Flerida, cuyo valor
 Con extremo souerano
 Vence del oluido humano
 La costumbre y el rigor;
 Perfecta y nueva hermosura,
 En cuyo merecimiento
 Se ofrecen á nuestro intento
 Muestras de immortal ventura,
 Que dan vida al sufrimiento.

Los ojos que te miraron,
 Como tu imperio sintieron;
 Las puertas del alma abrieron,
 Y en ella te coronaron;
 Aqui con poder eterno
 Corona y ceptro reciues,
 Y consiste en tu gouierno
 Hazer cielo, ¡o triste infierno!
 Este lugar donde bibes.

Porque el alma, noble y vella,
 Como en ti se transformó,

Obligada te dejó
A no poder salir della;
Pero si el fauor que puedes,
Repartes con mano llena,
Será por suerte tan buena,
Cielo de inmensas mercedes;
Y si no, infierno de pena.

Escoge, Señora mia,
El penoso ó dulce asiento,
La noche de mi tormento,
O el sol de tu claro dia;
Y pudiendo residir
En el cielo, ¿ por qué quieres
Entre tinieblas viuir?
Si es para verme morir,
Viendolo tú, no lo esperes.

Porque con la hermosa vista
De una perfeccion tan rara,
Se defiende y se repara
Quanto tu rigor conquista.
Y el amor me aseguró
Que no a de serme homicida
La mano que me rindio,
Porque ninguno murio
Con la causa de su vida.

Mas si por algun camino
E de llegar á la muerte,
Será al punto que mi suerte
Llegue á tu fauor diuino.
Que si el morir es perder
La forma y ser que ay en mí,
Quando yo me pueda ver
Fauorecido por tí,
Saldré de mi propio ser.

Clemencia pido y perdon
 Aunque es el caso tan justo,
 Que otros aman por su gusto,
 Y yo por ley de raçon.
 Porque el no tener amor
 A extremo de tanta alteza,
 Fuera ofender su grandeza,
 Dando más fuerça al temor
 Que al poder de tu velleza.

De un generoso cuidado
 Me sustento y desuanezco,
 Por lo que adoro, padezco,
 Que á ser martir e llegado.
 Y pues me prometen gloria
 Estos tormentos y enojos,
 Yo espero que con victoria
 Vendrán á gozar mis ojos,
 Lo que goza mi memoria.

IX.

MS. 4127, pp. 184-185

D. FRANCISCO DE LA CUEVA, AL TIEMPO.

Caduco tiempo que la culpa tienes
 De mis pasados juueniles brios,
 Si tan ligero pasas por mis bienes,
 Como pesado por los males mios.

Asi tus blancas y neuadas sienes
 Se vean por las ninfas de los rios,
 Coronadas con ymnos y cantares,
 Que siempre bueles ó que siempre pares.

Quando miraba el vello rostro hermoso
 De Venus á quien tube de mi parte,

Corrias tan lijero y presuroso
Que tú solo pudieras alcanzarte.

Y ahora, que en estado peligroso,
Miro el aspecto de Saturno y Marte,
Enbuelto en sangre, colera y braueza,
Tropiezas en tu misma lijereza.

Pues con tu mano poderosa buelues
La rueda más cruel que de nauajas,
Y en la ocasion fatal que la rebuelues,
Los bajos suues, y los altos vajas.

Ya que en darme desdichas te resuelues,
¿ Por qué en darla otra buelta no trauajas?
Que aunque boy á desdichas condenado,
Es mejor caminar que estar parado.

Tuyas son las mudanzas de la suerte
Donde no ay ley zierta y segura,
Porque de un tiempo en otro se diuierde,
O se enflaqueze ó causa la ventura.

Tú gouiernas las fuerças de la muerte,
Y ansi quando ella mesma se apresura,
Y el curso y orden natural no tiene,
Dizen los hombres que sin tiempo viene.

Ligeramente alegras y regalas
A quien despues fatigas con exceso;
Pareze que en los gustos, tienes alas,
Y en los daños, cadenas de gran peso.

Y como nunca esta valanza ygualas,
Borrando el bien, dejando el mal impreso,
Pasatiempo el placer suele llamarse,
Que esotro no es pasar, sino quedarse.

X.

MS. 4127, pp. 186-187

D. FRANCISCO DE LA CUEVA, AL AMOR.

Amor, ninguno te venze;
 Ninguna raçon te enfrena.
 Primero mata tu pena
 Que á ser sentida comienze.
 Y luego á los hombres muertos,
 Renueuas en tus conziertos,
 Para perdurable vida,
 Con la paciencia dormida
 Y los sentidos despiertos.

La mucha conuersacion
 Suele causar menosprecio
 En el sauió y en el necio,
 Porque es comun condicion.
 Si quieres que al sufrimiento,
 Se le auiue el sentimiento,
 Templa tu desden cruel;
 Que si estoy siempre con él,
 Tendré en poco á mi tormento.

¿ Quién bastara á resistir
 La fuerça de tu poder,
 Si á quien hazes padezer,
 No le permites morir?
 ¡ O ley, rigurosa y fiera,
 Con que el alma desespera!
 Pues este tirano quiere
 Que quien tantas vezes muere,
 Siquiera una vez no muera.

XI.

MS. 4127, p. 187

DON FRANCISCO DE LA CUEBA, GLOSA.

Quando llegare aquel día
Que da fin á los cuidados,
Emos de ser condenados,
Vos y yo, Señora mia.

Vos vendréis á condenaros
Por dura y por inconstante;
Yo por ser tan arrogante
Que me atreui á deseáros.

Y en el ynfierno los dos,
Gloria hemos de tener,
Vos en berme padezer,
Y yo en ber que lo beis vos.

XII.

MS. 3700, f. 7b

Flerida, vella y cruel,
Milagro en anbos estremos,
Burladora y enemiga
De la fe de mis deseos;

¿ A dónde está la de clemencia,
Que en esos ojos serenos,
Representa amor al mundo
Con suaue mouimiento?

Mal corresponden, Señora,
Las causas con los efetos;
Pues tienen nombre y principio
Natural y verdadero.

Solo me quiero queixar
De que os aya dado el cielo
Ojos que prometen gloria,
Y por gloria dan ynfierno.

De lo que no pudo ser,
Soys milagro y fundamento;
Y pues lo ynposible adoro,
También lo ynposible espero.

Velleza y onestidad,
Blandura, rrigor ynmenso,
Fuego, niebe, paz y guerra,
Puso en vos á un mismo tiempo.

Dexadme, falsa esperança,
Dexadme, vanos yntentos,
Que no a de morir el alma
En vuestras sombras y sueños.

XIII.

MS. 3700, f. 8-8b

¡ Ay de mí que pudiendo,
Vellissima Cafra,
Gozar entre tus braços
Las oras y los días !

Pudiendo en tus cabellos
Gozar las rricas minas,
Que busca el abariento
En las rremotas Yndias.

Pudiendo anticipada
Gozar en tus mexillas,
Ermosa primavera,
Y de flores más rrica.

Pudiendo yo en tus ojos
Arder el alma mia,
En luz de dos estrellas
Que á blando Amor yndinan.

Pudiendo yo en tu boca
Ver del alua la rrisa,
Y en tus dientes las perlas
Que tus ojos distilan.

No sé yo qué decreto
De deydad enemiga
Me arrastra á tierra akena,
Y á dexarte me yncita.

¿ Qué he echo yo á los ados,
Que quiere mi desdicha
Hazer de un alma pobre
Que aparte de su vida?

Sospechas me da á rratos
Que del cielo es ynbidia;
Que aun él puede preciarse
De que le des codicia.

¿ Qué podrán ver mis ojos
Que tus dos soles vean?
Mas cegarán llorando
Tu ausencia y mi partida.

No los verán enjutos
Ni la noche ni el día,
Ni se alabará el suelo
Que descanso en sus niñas.

Y para consolarme
Quando Amor me permita
Algun ocio hurtado
Para mis fantasias ;

Engañarme he, creyendo
Que á lastima mobida,
Te acuerdas de mi nombre,
¡ Ojala le rrepitas !

Creeré que me rrespondes
Quando nunca me escribas ;
Y diré que se pierden
Las cartas que no ynbias.

Fingiréme á mí mismo
Que alguna vez suspiras.
¡ Ay, quien lo mereciera
A mi fe agradecida !

Temor desconfiado
Será en mi compañía,
De los que tú mirares,
Y de los que te miran.

Siempre estaré colgado
De las horas benignas,
Que hordenarán mi buelta
A ver estas orillas.

Muda estará mi musa ;
Descansará mi lira ;
Mi voz daré á mis quexas
Por ultima armonia.

Tal mostrará mi rostro
La color amarilla,
Que qualquier caminante
En topandome diga:

“Este es amante ausente
Que á la muerte camina;
Déle Amor buen biaje
Por senda tan perdida.”

XIV.¹

MS. 3700, fol. III

Celos, sin sauer de quién,
¡Qué gran mal y qué gran bien!

DE DON FRANCISCO DE LA CUEBA.

Los celos desengañados
Son terribles y afrentosos;
Pero los celos dudosos,
Sin afrenta dan cuidados.
Matan siendo aueriguados;
Engañan si no se ven.
¡Qué gran mal y qué gran bien!

La ofensa ya conocida
Rrequiere oluido ó bengança;
Pero la que no se alcança,
Solo obliga á ser temida.
Ella es pena entretenida,
Y es un cierto desden.
¡Qué gran mal y qué gran bien!

¹ Published by Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca*, etc. Vol. I. col. 1050.

Son una yncierta sospecha
Y un principio de olvidar,
Que un necio perseberar
Más engaña que aprovecha.
Ellos hazen su desecha
Aunque aclarados esten.
¡ Qué gran mal y qué gran bien !

P
PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SERIES IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES No. 4.

4
THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
CRISTÓBAL DE CASTILLEJO

THE LAST OF THE NATIONALISTS IN
CASTILIAN POETRY.

BY
CLARA LEONORA NICOLAY

A THESIS WRITTEN IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
CONDITIONS FOR OBTAINING THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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MANIS DIVIS MATRIS OPTIMAE

PREFACE.

THIS thesis was written under the direction of Professor Hugo Albert Rennert, Head of the Department of Romanics at the University of Pennsylvania, whose kindness and helpful criticism I wish to acknowledge with sincere gratitude.

I wish also to express my thanks to the Austrian authorities, both secular and clerical, with whom I was brought into contact during my researches in the summer of 1908.

To all these, but especially to Professor Rennert, it is due if I am able to set forth "*aliquid dignum promissis*."

CLARA L. NICOLAY.

BRYN MAWR, AUGUST, 1910.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THERE is perhaps no Spanish poet of distinction of whose life we know as little as we do of that of Cristóbal de Castillejo. Nor do his works, though they contain not a few personal allusions and occasionally a date, help us materially in constructing his biography. For these allusions are extremely vague, and their uncertain character, while fruitful in conjectures, furnishes little ground on which to build the structure of his life with any certainty and satisfaction. Even the date of Castillejo's birth is still undetermined, while that of his death was long a disputed point, until finally settled by the researches of Ferdinand Wolf. To this eminent scholar we owe, in fact, almost everything that was known hitherto concerning the life of our poet.

It has been the writer's good fortune to find a number of documents relating to Castillejo in the Imperial Archives and in the Manuscript Department of the K. K. Hofbibliothek in Vienna, which throw some light on the life of the poet and which will be discussed in the following pages; much however must still be left to conjecture, pending the result of further investigations in the Archives of Madrid and Ciudad Rodrigo, the poet's birthplace, which may yield important information. Let us hope that these may not be long in seeing the light.

I.

CASTILLEJO'S BIRTH AND YOUTH—HE TAKES ORDERS—RETURNS TO COURT, GOES TO AUSTRIA—COURT LIFE, DUTIES AND PROMOTION—HE HOLDS A CHURCH LIVING—HIS RELATIVES—SICKNESS AND DEATH.

CRISTÓBAL DE CASTILLEJO was born in Ciudad Rodrigo, a town in Leon. Those writers who furnish any biographical information place the date between 1490 and 1494, without committing themselves to a more definite statement. None of the documents, not even the inscription on his tomb, offers an exact date of his birth.¹ Ferdinand Wolf assumes that it fell in the year 1490, basing his opinion on passages taken from two of the poems; the one entitled: "*Consolatoria estando con mil malos*," the other: "*Consiliatoria al Rey Don Fernando*." In the first the poet tells of a heavenly apparition, a fair lady standing by his couch in the depth of night. She calls herself "Consolacion," and reminds him of her first visit twenty-six years before, when he was but twenty-three years old. At that time he had known her by the name of "Hope."

"Y bien os acordará
Que veinte y seis años ha,
Siendo vos de veinte y tres."

¹ Ticknor: *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. I, p. 541, says that Castillejo died at Vienna, about 50 years old. Fitzmaurice-Kelly: *Historia de la Literatura Española*, p. 231, places the poet's life between 1490 and 1556. Dr. Rudolf Beer: *Spanische Litteraturgeschichte* (Sammlung Göschen), p. 50-51, also gives 1490 or 1491 to 1556.

We see that he was forty-nine years old when the "*Consolatoria*" was written. Unfortunately the date of the poem is unknown, and Wolf tries to supply it from the following data: We possess a short prose introduction to the second of the poems, the "*Consiliatoria al Rey Don Fernando*," dated January 9, 1541. It states explicitly that it was written after the beginning of the New Year.¹ Both poems tell much about the writer's physical ailments and are composed in a half mocking, half despairing tone, which betrays the sadness and loneliness of his heart. The feelings expressed in these verses, also the evident circumstance that Castillejo had passed through a recent illness, seem to warrant the assumption that both works were written in close succession. Wolf supposes that 1540 was the year of Castillejo's illness, and consequently the year when he composed the "*Consolatoria*." The "*Consiliatoria*" was probably written a little later. As the poet informs us that he had reached his fiftieth year, his birth would fall in 1490. Although several statements in the poems admit a different construction and the date which informs us of the writer's age is, after all, hypothetical, we know for the present no better way than to follow the reasoning of Wolf.

Concerning the first fifteen years of the life of Cristóbal de Castillejo we are almost in complete ignorance. We presume that he grew up an orphan, for he states that he had been reared in a strange house ("en casa ajena"). We know from other sources² that he had brothers and sisters, but in the *Obras* we find no reference to his family.

¹ "La presente obrecilla que aqui va, hecha después que entró el año nuevo."

² A document kept in the Imperial Archives, in Vienna: "*Nobilitatio et armorum melioratio pro Castillejo*." To be discussed later on.

The first definite information we possess concerning Castillejo is his entrance into the household of the young Archduke Ferdinand, as a page.¹ Castillejo says he was called to service only a little after the prince was born "for our good."

"Al cual solo habeis servido
Poco menos desto cuando
Por nuestro bien fue nacido."

(Dialogo del Autor y su Pluma.)

The poet gives us many personal experiences during the time he served as a page. He must have been liked by his young master and the royal grandsire, for he followed the latter on various expeditions. The last of these was signalized by a sad event. King Ferdinand's death, which occurred on January 23, 1515, in Madrigalejos, a small town on the road to Andalucia, whither the king was proceeding to chastise the rebellious Marqués de Priego.

After the old king's death, the eldest grandson, Don Carlos, afterward Emperor Charles V, became King of Aragon and Castile. Both he and young Ferdinand were the offspring of Joan the Mad, (daughter of the Catholic Kings), and her early deceased spouse, Duke Philip the Fair of Burgundy. The young monarch delayed for over two years before he left his native Ghent and took possession of Spain. He encountered serious troubles during the first few months of his reign and had recourse to some very harsh measures. One of these was the abrupt dismissal of his brother's whole court, including even his playfellows and friends, beside the Infante's forced departure to the Netherlands. We have no evidence that Castillejo was among

¹ Ferdinand of Austria was the second-born grandson and favorite of old King Ferdinand the Catholic. He was born March 9, 1503; the poet soon afterward joined the household of the baby prince.

those who were compelled to leave their young master, but probability points to his sharing the fate of the others. The dismissal of the Infante's retinue was ordered by the young king's Flemish tutor and all-powerful adviser, Adrian of Utrecht, later Pope Urban VI.

These violent measures greatly displeased the already disaffected Spaniards; Cardinal Ximénès, the old king's prime minister, was also on the verge of his fall. He disapproved of the decrees, but his office obliged him to execute them, even by force of arms. The evil news reached the Infante at Aranda, where he had stopped on his way from Saragosa to Valladolid. From Aranda young Ferdinand was dispatched to Santander and shipped to Flushing, where he arrived after a stormy voyage, the ship being tossed so far out of its course that it had to land in Ireland. We find nowhere in Castillejo's works any allusion to a voyage so fraught with danger, and may therefore exclude the hypothesis that he was among the Archduke's attendants.

The next period of his life covers the interval between his dismissal from court service and his resuming it as Ferdinand's secretary, in 1525. We do not even know where to place the beginning of this interval, whether in 1516, immediately after the old king's death, or in 1518, when Don Carlos met the Cortes for the first time, and ordered rigorous proceedings against his brother. The only thing we know about Castillejo is that he took Orders ("se hizo eclesiastico"). Perhaps he spent his time waiting for office, or preparing himself for a definite career; anyhow his labors were lost when he returned to court. We shall see that he had considered all sorts of occupations, and that he was not in regular employment when called upon to resume his duties with Ferdinand, his former master, in Vienna. The last twenty-five years of his life were spent in the king's service.

We possess the fragment of a letter from Martín de Salinas to the Treasurer Gabriel de Salamanca, dated: Madrid, February 8, 1525.¹ Both men held high offices at Ferdinand's court. In the king's letters Salinas is addressed as "Camerarius et Orator Noster," Salamanca as "Comes Ortemburg, liber Baron in Frayenstain et Karlsbach supremusque Consiliarius et Thesaurarius noster." From this letter we learn that Martín de Salinas replies to the Treasurer's request, to send to Vienna a reliable secretary for the service of the king.

"He (evidently the king) wants me to procure a secretary who is not only versed in writing letters, but will relieve him of the trouble of arranging them ('excusalle la ordenacion'). He must know that people possessing such skill are well received everywhere and need not leave their native land! I shall try to find such a man, and as soon as I know of a suitable person, I shall send word. Indeed I think I have at this moment the person you require, for we have a man here in Spain who exactly meets your wants. He is well known, of tried experience, in fact, the secretary who used to be in His Highness' service while still here. His name is Castillejo; he thoroughly commands both Castilian and Latin, and is universally and highly esteemed as a man of great parts. After His Highness' departure, the man entered the religious life and is a Clerk in Orders. I am sure you would find him a great solace, if he could be induced to accept your service, for he possesses sound judgment and good counsel. I also believe the Christian attire ('habito cristiano'—clerical cloth?) would do well for him, nor would you need a lot of "fine feathers" to satisfy him ('sin que por muchas plumas tuviesedes de le contentar'). If you think that this man will answer your purpose while I am seeking further, let me know and I shall summon him and

¹ Cf. *Apuntos Biográficos*, by D. Adolfo de Castro. Vol. 32, of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. (P. xx.)

try to send him to you. Indeed he is most serviceable and I cannot think of anyone better. The king knows who he is; he is a good knight of Ciudad Roderigo, and I refer you to the Infante and all the gentlemen, if you want further information about his aptitude or any other particulars—"

"Castillejo returned to Don Fernando as his secretary," the editor adds, and we find him duly installed on the 30th of September of the same year (1525).¹

The question how Martín de Salinas, the king's chamberlain and most intimate counsellor, came to Madrid, has been answered of late in an article by D. Juan Menéndez Pidal.² It is entitled: "Don Francesillo de Zuñiga, bufon de Carlos V," and reproduces a part of the correspondence of this learned jester. In a note treating of the wedding of Doña Mencía de Mendoza with Henry III of Nassau, which took place June 27, 1524, Martín de Salinas is quoted as Don Fernando's Ambassador.

Before we follow Castillejo into his office we may observe in passing that every biographical notice states, or leaves us to infer, that he had served the king an unbroken number of years; the circumstance that he was in Holy Orders is entirely overlooked. His fluent latinity, if nothing else, and the use of certain ecclesiastical terms would betray his training. Moreover, few laymen at this time would have known that the book of Job was originally composed in verse, as Castillejo mentions in the dedication accompanying some translations of Cicero. Besides the reference in Martín de Salinas' letter, we possess definite proof of the poet's priesthood, in an official decree endowing him with a church living. This will be mentioned more fully below.

¹ Cf. Appendix I.

² *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. (Tercera época, Año XII, Julio-Agosto de 1909, p. 72.)

The salary granted to the king's "Hispanic Secretary" amounted to one hundred Florins Rhenish per annum. Two horses were put at his disposal with ten Florins additional allowance for each horse. Thus 140 Florins were not thought too much for his mount, while one hundred had to suffice for his own maintenance. It was necessary for the poet's comfort that he should have a number of perquisites, such as he enumerates in his famous poem: "Reply to a knight who asked why he was so happy in Vienna?"¹

A list of those forming King Ferdinand's retinue at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 contains the name, under the heading: "Secretäre und Minister," of "Christoph Castillejus, spanishcer Secretär." Besides Castillejo only one Spaniard is mentioned among the king's followers. This is "Leonhard Graf Nugaroli," (el conde Leonardo de Noguerol), and he appears as one of the cup bearers (Schenken). We shall encounter his name, as Leonhard, Count of Noguerol and Bellfont, in the king's correspondence entrusted to Castillejo. The list of "Kammerherrn" (Aulici) opens with: "Johann, Graf Schaumburg, Erbmarschall in Oesterreich und Steyermark."²

Two documents in the Austrian state archives give evidence that Castillejo actually held an incumbency, but that he had, to all appearances, not made a great success of it.

¹ "Respuesta del autor á un caballero que le preguntó la causa de hallarse tan bien a Vienna." (*Obras*, II, p. 179, vol. 32, *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.* This is the edition to which all quotations refer, to be mentioned in future only as *Obras*.) Wolf translates and reproduces the poem under the title: "Castillejo's Lobspruch der Stadt Wien." *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, May, 1849.

² This name, like many others in the *Lahr- und Gedenkbücher* in the Vienna Archives is misspelt. The copyists were evidently unacquainted with Spanish. Castillejo's name occurs as Castilegio, Castelegius, Castiliego, etc.

³ F. B. v. Buchholz. *Geschichte und Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*. Vol. III, p. 661. *Urkunden XI*.

Under date Innsbruck, August 19, 1536, we have a presentation of "Christopher Castilegius, Counsellor and Secretary to the King," to the incumbency of the Collegiate Church of Ardegge, in the Tyrol, Diocese of Passau.¹ Three years later, under the date of December 9, 1539, we find that Castillejo had resigned the living unconditionally.²

This resignation forms one of the numerous points in his career for which no satisfactory explanation can be given. If the living was only a sinecure, why did he relinquish an income so easily acquired, as he complained constantly of his straitened circumstances? The office could not have required his personal attention, for we possess letters of his, written in his official capacity as the king's secretary, which prove that during the time of his incumbency he was far away from Ardegge. If he had actual pastoral duties to perform, we can understand why he wished to be withdrawn. His evident and absolute inability to master the German language must have disqualified him for office. Even though he read mass in Latin, he must have heard confession and kept otherwise in touch with his flock; and would have been obliged to reside at least part of the year in his parish, a fact which makes us understand his readiness to yield his living to "whomsoever may be suitable or worthy, and as soon as it can be transferred."

Two years later another document, entitled: "Expectativa pro Christophoro Castillejo"³ was drawn up (which, however, cannot be identified with one mentioned by Wolf, concerning a living which the Emperor Charles V had promised the poet at the request of his royal brother).⁴ In it Castillejo is spoken of in the highest terms.

¹ Cf. Appendix II.

² Cf. Appendix III.

³ Cf. Appendix IV.

⁴ *Sitzungsbericht*, March, 1849. In a foot-note Wolf reproduces part

In 1534, nine years after his nomination as secretary, Castillejo was made counsellor to the king. The decree is worded in a highly appreciative manner, more than we should expect in a merely official document.¹ Nothing is stated regarding the salary, except that it is the "Customary and respectable stipend which is due to counsellors." How great it was, we are unable to infer. We do not know whether it was paid promptly, so that, even if we could ascertain the amount from old audits we should yet not be able to decide whether the poet's continual complaints of money troubles were justified or not. The "Gedenkbücher" in the Financial Archives in Vienna show many orders of payments to Castillejo. One is an "open order" to pay him his livery and provision.² The sum amounted to one hundred Fl. in gold, in addition to ten Fl. for each horse, and coincides with the stipend allotted in the first decree; we do not know whether it is the same payment that is referred to in both documents. The order is dated Tübingen, September 6, 1525. It precedes the decree of nomination by three weeks and is probably a year's pay granted for traveling expenses. An extraordinary expedition took place in the year 1527. From a passport dated June 2, 1527 we see that permission is given to "Ludwigen von Torvar (*sic*), Gabrielen Sanchez und Christophen von Castilegio" to drive five hundred oxen, then another five hundred, and ultimately two thousand head of cattle from Hungary into the Roman Empire "on open roads and passes."³ The

of a French letter of Charles V to Ferdinand, dated: "Valladolid, July, 1527," promising the poet a living. It is obvious that the "Expectativa" dated eleven years later, cannot have anything to do with the letter or with other promises referred to by Wolf.

¹ Cf. Appendix V.

² Offner Bevelh Christophoro Castilegio sein Lifergeld und Provision zu reichen. Cf. Appendix VI.

³ "Auf den nicht verbotenen Wegen und Pässen."

passport was issued at Ofen (Budapest). We do not know how the poet discharged this singular office, nor whether he went on his own account or in the royal service.

Under the date February 27, 1538, we find a decree addressed to a certain Wolfgang Prander, Grandmaster of the Order of St. George, to pay Castillejo five hundred Fl.; this money was to accrue from the income of some church lands. Apparently the time of freehold had expired, or else the lands had been held in fee simple and now reverted to the crown.¹ Another document commands that fourteen hundred and sixty-nine Fl. should be paid to Castillejo, the money to be taken from the proceeds of the sale of contraband goods.² The wording of this royal decree—involved and ungrammatical to the last degree—is of value because it refers to the services which Castillejo had rendered the king before he came to Austria, and is the only official proof of Castillejo's activity at the court of Spain.³ Besides this order we have an account in Castillejo's own handwriting which, unfortunately, is almost impossible to decipher; that he did not receive the full amount we gather from the last few sentences: "Quedase de Martín de Salinas 379 Duc. 15 Fl. quedase a ver otro libramen que suma se hizo con los contrabandos."

¹ "Vnserm Rate, Superintendenten, vnserm Hofcammerar und lieben andech igen Wolfgangen Prander, Hochmeister des Sanct Jorgenordens —dass er vnserm Rat und Secre'arius Christoffen Castillejo—Fünf hundert Gulden Rheinisch so wir ime aus Gnaden verordnet von vnserwegen zustellen soll, daran tut er vnser ernstliche Meinung."

² *Verweisungsbrief von König Ferdinand für Christophen von Castilegio um 1469 Ducaten auf Confiscationem und Contrabande.* Speier, am 25 April, 1539.

(The let er with the king's own signature is in an outer cover to which is attached the large, red imperial seal in an almost perfect state of preservation.) Cf. also Appendix VII.

³ Cf. Appendix VII.

The acknowledgment of Ludwig von Brandeis, Commissary and Collector of fines and revenues, dated Wudweiss, den 22 Marti 1541, shows that the poet derived further revenues from the same source.¹

But most of these promises were little more than words. No wonder that at last, when the king actually bestowed 2000 Fl. on his old retainer, he said repentantly: "We have given him in the past more than one gracious promise which, however, never materialized."²

From his position at court, from numerous passages in the *Obras*, and from the letter of Martín de Salinas, we know that the poet belonged to the lower gentry. In his works we find no allusion to any members of his family. Wolf mentions one, Juan de Castillejo, whom, misled by an entry in the "Gedenkbücher" on the Austrian Imperial Chancery, he calls Cristóbal's cousin; in reality Juan was his nephew, successor and heir. He was by no means the only one of the poet's relations that had followed him to Austria.

We are in the happy possession of a very important document, an "Amelioration of the Nobility and Armorial Bearings of the Castillejos,"³ issued by the emperor and

¹ *Bekennbrief Ludwigs von Brandeis, Mitcommissar und Einnehmer des contrabandischen Strafgeldes, dass Christophorus von Castilegius K. K. Majestät Secretar von ihm desselben Strafgeldes 467 und einen halben Ducaten empfangen habe.*

The letters K. K. (*Königlich Kaiserlich*) are due to a later scribe. In Castillejo's time Ferdinand of Austria was King of the Romans, Duke of Austria, etc. He became Emperor after Castillejo's demise. The poet was Royal Secretary and Counsellor.

² *Das Wir ime hievor, mer als ein Gnadenverschreibung gegeben, die aber in kain wirklichkeit khomen.*" Cf. also Wolf: "*Ueber Castillejo's Todesjahr.*" *Sitzungsbericht der K. K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Wien. Mai, 1861.*

³ *Nobilitatio et armorum amelioratio (pro Castillejo).* Regensburg, 1532. Cf. Appendix VIII.

addressed to the poet's brother Pedro. Therein Cristóbal is highly praised and it is stated that the favor is granted because of his sterling qualities. In the year 1532 the whole family was raised to knighthood, and received an enlarged coat-of-arms. The imperial letter shows that there had been at least four children in Castillejo's home: Cristóbal, a brother Pedro, an unnamed brother, and a sister, who was the mother of Antonio Veraguez y Castillejo, Bishop of Triest. We know nothing further concerning her. Probably her husband's name was Veraguez and her son had resumed his mother's name on account of its higher nobility. Juan Castillejo, the third brother's son, has no middle name. All this is mentioned incidentally with the description of the enlarged coat-of-arms. This escutcheon is also carved on the stone covering the poet's grave; its emblematic signs have given rise to much confusion.¹

In the "Amelioratio" the authentic bearings are described in detail. Primarily the shield was bipartite, but the upper field filled only one-third of the escutcheon. This upper field was of gold and showed three azure fleurs-de-lys; the lower bore a castle argent in a field gules or red. These bearings were confirmed, as the document says: "We not only confirm this coat-of-arms, but, by virtue of Our present decree, We add the following: To wit: three Austrian nightingales with wings and tails disclosed (outstretched), and armed (showing the claws); they shall be gold in a field azure, quartered above the fleurs-de-lys, so that the shield, bipartite heretofore, shall now be tripartite. On its rim shall be seven leaves of Acanthus; three on the

¹ At the end of his article: "*Ueber Castillejo's Todesjahr*," cf. above. (Vol. XXXVII, p. 100, *Sitzungsberichte*.) In a little book: "*Stimmen der Vorzeit aus der Altarkirche zur Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit zu Wiener Neustadt*," Pater Benedict Kluge, O. Cist., also gives a description of the tomb.

lower border in the azure, four on the upper border in the gules. On the helmet the red, blue, gold and silver shall appear, both in visor and crest; above a golden diadem of ancient kings shall rise a golden nightingale, the same as in the field." ¹

The prominence of the "Austrian Nightingale" seems a delicate compliment to the poet, concerning whose merits the emperor waxes eloquent:

"He has served Our beloved brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, of Hungary and Bohemia, and Archduke of Austria, from the very cradle, not only in Spain but in France, Belgium, and Germany; also in Pannonia and Bohemia. He served not only in peaceful times, but in times most disturbed and most critical. When heretics were springing up in Germany; when civil war was bursting forth, and when the terrible tyrant of the Turks made his inroads upon Austria and Pannonia. When Our brother assumed first the crown of Bohemia, then that of Hungary and finally that of the Romans, he always served him with the same faith, diligence, industry and prudence, and does serve him even to the present hour, so that he (the king) entrusts his most secret transactions to his *fidelity* and *discretion*, and admits him to all his secrets and private councils; while he (Castillejo) discharges all his duties in such a manner that his merit increases day by day. His services are finding the same good grace with Us as though they were rendered to Our own person. We consider

¹ Super antiquorum regum diademate luscina aurea, ut in scuto, eminat."

P. Kluge calls the birds on the shield: "Sperlinge oder Schwalben." A scribe's error occurs in the description of the colors. The old shield had been two-thirds red, showing the castel in argent. From this castle the family derived their name. The upper part, showing the fleurs-de-lys, which indicates some French quarterings, has been or, the lilies azure. These colors were inverted in the new field—azure with birds in or. The document has: "lilia aurea in scuto aureo," an impossibility; the first "Aurea" must read "Azurea." Cf. Appendix VIII.

him worthy, forsooth, not only to keep him in office, but We also raise you, Pedro, and Juan and Antonio de Castillejo, your nephews, the one your brother's, the other your sister's son, and distinguish you by Our imperial munificence; so that your own worth and your brother's merit, as they go down to posterity, may be honored by Our testimony—We confer upon you, Pedro, and you Juan and Antonio, the honor of knighthood—”

Juan de Castillejo must have also enjoyed the king's favor. We possess a document from which we learn that, among other grants, three thousand Fl. were allowed him. He became Secretary to the king on August 29, 1544; but the first official document he signed is dated April 25, 1544.

Among the “*Diplomaticis Hispanicis*,” letters addressed by the king to his Spanish nobles, and kept in “*Reichs Registratur*” of the Vienna Imperial Archive, are a number of rough drafts in Castillejo's handwriting; some are in cipher, others in script; some were dictated by the king, others drawn up by the secretary and submitted to the king's inspection.¹ All deal with administrative matters; many are demands for supply and livery during the king's petty warfare. Martín de Salinas is a frequent recipient of these notes, which are dated from Innsbruck, Prague and Linz, and were sent during the years 1529, 1539 and 1541.

Other letters are to Leonard, count of Nogarola and Bellfont, Counsellor, Chamberlain and Governor of Triest. A letter to Don Lope de Soria bears the date of 1533; another one, dated the same year, is to the Duke of Ossuna, President of the Council of Orders; it is a recommendation of one Francisco de Tovar.² One letter, dated October,

¹ See above the letter of Martín de Salinas: “*excusalle la ordinacion*.”

² *Una letra al Duque de Ossuna, Presidente del consejo de las ordenes en recomendacion de Francisco de Tovar.*

1533, is directed to "Conde de Fuentes, nuestro amado pariente," one, dated May 10, 1534, is to "noble Don Hurtado de Mendoza." This was the famous author, Don Diego de Mendoza, who in 1539 replaced the above-mentioned D. Lope de Soria as ambassador in Venice. Castillejo was one of his retinue. Between 1536 and 1537 we find a whole series of letters to Martín de Salinas, all urging him to try to raise money. In addition to this, we may say, regular correspondence, we find letters to "Noble Don Alvar de Luna," or "Noble Suárez de Figueroa." The last draft among this series is dated July, 1536." Between 1536 and 1542 we find letters addressed to the "Licenciado Gomez," to "Don Mio de Gasto," (sic. perhaps the Marqués del Vasto), and to Hurtado de Mendoza; they treat of the threatened invasion of the Turks.

The king must have taken great interest in one Diego de Arguello, ensign bearer to Don Yñigo de Mendoza. From the year 1534 we find a warm recommendation of this person to "noble Suárez de Figueroa," and in the following year, 1536, one to Francisco Duarte.¹

Several letters of the same year are directed to "Marqués Vistorey,² Nuestro amado primo;" the royal cousinship indicates that the Marqués was a member of the Grandeza. Other recipients of epistles that could hardly be considered welcome, as most of them contained more or less imperative demands for money, were "Noble Don Luis de Cueva" (July 22, 1544), and "Magnifico Conde Philipe Torval, Nuestro amado amigo." After 1544 Cristóbal's somewhat

¹ Francisco Duarte, amado mio, a Diego Argüello, alferéz de la compañía de Don Yñigo de Mendoza, tenemos muy buena voluntad assi por el tiempo que acá estuve, etc.

² Also written: *Bistorey*. In the spelling of the names, as in Castillejo's own MSS., the letters *b* and *v* are used promiscuously.

trembling and uncertain characters give way to a firmer handwriting. The rough draft of a letter to Don Pedro de Laso is the last official document Castillejo has written; at least none bearing a later date is found in the Vienna Archives.

A letter written to Dr. Carnicero, dated Prague, September 4, 1547, is the last documentary evidence we have concerning the poet's life. His last years are again shrouded in oblivion. The letter is the dedication of the long poem *Diálogo y discurso de la vida de corte*, in itself one of the most ample sources of information concerning the poet. This prologue does not appear in the *Obras*; it is given in full by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, Vol. II, p. 281. We learn from the dedication that Dr. Carnicero had prompted Castillejo to write the *Diálogo*.

"Noble and Magnificent Señor—

Some time ago you suggested to me it would give you pleasure if I should compose something about the life in palaces, and the misery it engenders. I shall now try to comply with your desire, and with this intent, make use of the Castilian metres, following thus the example of others who attempted the same. Such were Aeneas Sylvius, who wrote in Latin, and Henricus¹ Hutenus, in German, and perhaps many others of whom I never heard. First of all I must crave your pardon for the long delay before fulfilling your command. But, aside from all my occupations, troubles and bodily ailments, what little talent I once possessed is now lessening and vanishing fast in proportion as old age approaches; it is the same as with physical vigor. After all, everything in this world has its time. Let

¹ The mistake of Castillejo's writing *Henricus* for *Ulricus* is easily explained. German names like *Ulrich* and *Heinrich* would be confused by a man who could and would not master the German pronunciation, as we see in his grotesque rendering of names of places in and about Vienna in the famous poem generally known as "Praise of Vienna."

this time elapse, or let it never arrive, the loss is ours! Such is my case, and I may as well admit it. Now, for once, my pen shall have its free run as far as *trovas* are concerned. I invoke your pardon for any want of grace or fluency, and plead that the subject was your choice, and that I am only carrying out your ideas. I entertain for you the deepest devotion and gratitude, but shall shift on you the responsibility for any shortcomings, claiming to be exonerated both with regard to poor material and deficient style. Without doubt my work will be pronounced commonplace and lacking in stateliness; yet it was with deliberate intent that I chose these metres for a work of such prolixity, for they read with greater ease and fluency. Even now, and in spite of colloquialisms and turns of familiar speech, the reading will, I fear, be wearisome in some places; what would it be if it were written in a grand style?

As our Castilian *trovas* are not considered sufficiently important and of enough authority to appear as the chief dish of a repast, let them pass as fruit for the dessert. If, my dear Sir, I have not made this court poem what it should have been—*invicta Minerva*—may you and the ladies, on reading it, take the will for the deed, for the sake of the endeavor I have put into the work. The poem, as you will notice, also issued from a palace. May God keep you out of it, and grant you all the liberty and prosperity which you can desire!

Prague, September, 1547. To Dr. Carnicero."

This, together with one very noteworthy decree, which exists in two copies in the "Gedenkbücher" of the Vienna "Staatsarchiv," also reproduced by Wolf, is the latest evidence we possess.¹ A munificent gift of the king is granted, destined to alleviate the poet's distress; unfortunately it came too late. The king acknowledges, as he had done on

¹ Cf. "Ueber Castillejo's Todesjahr." *Sitzungsberichte*, 1861; also *Gedenkbücher*, 1549, 1550.

various occasions, that his faithful old retainer had met with scant reward, and that the greater part of the promises made to him had never been fulfilled. He bestows on him the sum of 2000 Fls., to be paid in yearly instalments of 200 Fls. per annum. If the principal should not be expended during Castillejo's lifetime, any residue was to revert to his heirs. The grant purposes "that Our Counsellor and Secretary, at the age he has now reached, may be able to lead a more *sumptuous* and *stately* life."

A marginal note to the entry in Vol. 1559 of the "Gedenkbücher" is of vital importance. It was Wolf's privilege to publish it first. It is a simple intimation that Cristóbal de Castillejo had received two hundred of the two thousand Fls.; that the remaining eighteen hundred were paid over to Juan, and that the decree, having become void through the poet's death, was cancelled. This note bears the date Innsbruck, 28 Dec., 1550."

We are therefore in no doubt that the year of the poet's death was 1550. The exact date, June 12, is plainly written on his tombstone in the "Neu Kloster Kirche" in "Wiener Neustadt"; all statements to the contrary, such as are found, first of all, in "*Phenix reviviscens, sive Ordinis Cisterciensis scriptorum Anglice et Hispanice series*," liber II., autore P. F. Chrysostomos. Brussels, 1626, and reproduced by Nicolas Antonio in his "*Bibliotheca nova Hispanica*"¹ can be passed by as legends, for the origin of which we have no satisfactory explanation. Of two erroneous dates, one has been rejected by all critical writers; only the older historians, like Bouterwek, mention it. It arose from the tradition that the poet, weary of the world, had left the court and returned to his community, by entering the monastery of the

¹ Wolf rejects both statements. Cf. "Castillejo's *Lobspruch der Stadt Wien*," Sitzungsbericht, May, 1840.

Cistercians in Val d'Eglisia near Toledo, where he died in 1596. A monument in the cloister is said to indicate his resting place. The other theory is due to Wolf. He states that, in spite of the inscription on the tomb, Castillejo died in 1556. Several documents, signed "Castillejo" in 1553, seemed to contradict the statement that our poet died in 1550. At the time he wrote his article Wolf had no knowledge of Castillejo's successor and nephew, and he tried to reconcile two contradictory statements by a theory of his own. He assumed 1556 as the year of the poet's death, and this has been accepted by standard writers, to the present time.

Castillejo's resting place in the "Altar Kirche zur Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit" in Wiener Neustadt is in a prominent position, almost in the heart of the sanctuary, close to the High Altar. Along the walls are numerous tombs of churchmen and distinguished laymen, but the poet alone reposes inside the chancel rail. The only other tomb set apart from the rest is that of the Empress Leonora and her children. Either the *Patres* or some higher authority wished to confer an especial honor on the dead poet. The Cistercian Fathers claim him as a member of their order, but he cannot have been with them during his last days, for he died in Vienna.¹ The grave is found in the *Crypta Benefactorum*; Castillejo is the first since 1472 who, not being an actual member of the convent or living in close proximity, found burial here.²

The "*Catalogus religiosorum S. ordinis Cirstentiensis ad*

¹ P. Benedict Kluge is careful in his assertions. He belongs to the *Neu Kloster-Kirche*, and is willing to refute Velasquez' tale about the poet's life and death in Val d'Eglisia; but he does not dare openly to differ from his Superior. To his book, "*Stimmen der Vorzeit*" we are beholden for many details concerning the sepulture.

² The last among the parishioners who preceded him was a lady, wife of the Knight Jacobus v. Dürr; she died 1548.

S. S. S. Austriae inferioris” says: “Christophorus Castilegius, natione Hispanus, a secretis intimis Ferdinandi I. Viennae, Junii 12, 1550.” Several laymen are mentioned in the same catalogue, and Castillejo is not quoted as a member of the order; we must, therefore, dismiss the theory that he was a monk. Nor can we explain why the body was brought the long distance from Vienna to Wiener Neustadt, a journey of two or three days, at least.

Wolf has wasted a great deal of ingenuity in his first essay (*Lobspruch*) in attempting to read 1550 for 1556. He takes VI, the first letters of the word *Viennae*, as part of the date MDLVI, notwithstanding the fact that there is no known precedent, that letters thus had to do double service. This, he thought, the carver had done for lack of space.¹

The inscription furnishes moreover an implied proof that Castillejo cannot have died as late as 1556. Of Ferdinand I, it is said: Romanorum et G[ermanorum] Regis. But as Charles V had abdicated his two crowns, the royal one of Spain, and the imperial one of Germany, the first, on the 15th of January, the other the 29th of October, 1555, Ferdinand, after June 12, 1556, would have been styled *Imperator*, not merely *Rex*.

¹ The inscription follows the edges of the stone, an oblong of pinkish-grey Austrian marble, not raised above the ground. It shows six consecutive lines:

“Obiit duodecimo Iunii, A. MDL Viennae clarissimus in consiliis et secretis intimis seremissimi Ferdinandi Romanorum et G. Regis Christophorus Castilegius natione Hispanus vir sane suae aetate numeris omnibus absolutus.”

The final *s* in *clarissimus* is very small and raised above the line, and as moreover the words are not spaced, the idea of having two letters serve as numerals as well is not as far-fetched as appears without closer examination.

II.

CASTILLEJO'S DAILY LIFE GATHERED FROM THE "OBRAS"—HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS—THE COLOR SCHEME—THE ENIGMATICAL POEMS.

To judge by all these documents, these grants of money, these elaborate eulogies bearing the sign manual of king and emperor,—to judge, finally, by the distinction bestowed on the poet's mortal remains, we might conclude that he had been a fairly successful man. His works, however, tell a different story. With few exceptions, all his poems bear a tinge of sadness, some even of despair. Those, on the other hand, which do not reflect any mental or physical distress are written in a light and airy vein; some are even bantering; the majority of them exceedingly graceful. The poems which give us an insight into his daily life may be divided into three classes:

Poems of love, friendship, or courtesy.

Poems treating of Castillejo's illness and the remedies he tried for his recovery.

Poems concerning court life and its disappointments; of a lonely and forsaken old age; of hopelessness in general.

Best known among his love poems are those addressed to Anna von Schaumburg. The poet's attachment, however, could never have led to a union. There was great discrepancy of age; the girl being only fifteen when Castillejo was nearly forty. There was also a great difference in position, as her father was one of the first nobles of the Empire.

Above all there was the fact that Castillejo was a consecrated priest, which may not have precluded gallant adventures, but which demanded celibacy. Two years later the lady was wedded to Count Erasmus Stahremberg, ancestor to the great Count Stahremberg, the defender of Vienna against the Turks.

A number of poems addressed to *Ana*, or containing a play on her name, are supposed to be addressed to Anna von Schaumburg; but we also find verses to *Doña Ana de Aragon*; likewise to a mysterious Spanish lady whose name begins with an A, but who may be the same. For a time, at least, Castillejo must have been a very popular court poet; a great number of ladies, and some gentlemen, were evidently eager to receive verses from him. He was in the habit of accompanying small gifts with appropriate lines. The presents he offered were of divers natures and given to various persons. We read of a cake of soap (*sebo de mano*), of beads on two occasions (*unos corales, unas cuentas*), a mirror, a heart of jet mounted in gold (*un corazon de azabache engastado en oro*), fruits and gloves, and a distaff for a "devout girl" (*una moza beata*). He sends a bridle and some wine of Ribadera to a friend, and apologizes for the combination. Once or twice he acknowledges presents. Anna von Schaumburg had sent him some cake or wastel bread and his thanks are expressed in words surprising in the mouth of a priest, for he does not hesitate to compare the cake to the consecrated wafer.

In his *Coplas* he mentions a number of ladies; we meet here Doña Luisa, Francisca, Inez, Mencia, Gracia, Julia and Petronilla, also a Señora de Lerma. He addresses a number of verses to Angela; in some he gives her name, in others she appears in a very transparent incognito. Once she seems to have contracted an intermittent fever, and the

poet expresses his sympathy and dismay that the insidious disorder dared lay hands on a "celestial angel."¹

He not only plays with names that have a secondary meaning, he also twists the name of *Ana* into the most extraordinary forms.²

When Castillejo is moved by true feeling he abandons his trifling. He is subject to the limitations of his time, but very often he reaches a true and simple pathos of great beauty, while at times he shows much passion, as in the poem:

¹ "—osó poner las manos
En un Angel celestial."

(*Obras*, page 117.)

² He takes the three letters A. N. A.:

"'Aquí' dice la primera,
'No Hay' dice la segunda,
'Amor' dice la tercera—"

or:

"A NAdie mirais, Señora"

and:

"AN Acordado mis ojos—"

This conceit is not original. A similar play on the name "Ana" is found in the "Codice dei Sonetti del Conte Policastro." (Cf. Benedetto Croce, *Ricerche Ispano-Italiane*.) Here we find lines to Doña Ana, Countess of Modica.

Sopra de una envencion de un archo—porque comienza da A—per causa de dicta Ana.

The name of the Virgin is quite frequently used for similar plays. (Cf. the *Coplas* by the Count of Alámiras in the *Cancionero General*:

La M madre te muestra,
La a te manda adorar,

Even Petrarch was not above such artificialities; (Cf. the fifth Sonnet in his *Rime*: "LAUdando s'incomincia," etc.) This mannerism is due to Provençal influence. Lanfranca Cigala in one of the worst offenders, his *canson a la Vergena*, says:

"EVA ac nome l'enemia
Segun l'escrig
Diz hem 'Ave Maria'
Tot es qu'EVA desvia
Maire de DIEU—
AVE torn en la via."

"The Departure from Spain." (*Una partida fuera de España.*) It deals with his sudden departure from Spain and is addressed to a lady of whose name only dark hints are given: "You, my faith, beginning with the same letter as my love."¹ He must leave the lady on the last of May; the same day has seen the birth and the end of their affection. The sweeter the memory of this day, the sadder will be the future.²

We possess no evidence that Castillejo left Spain before he was called to the secretaryship in 1525, yet we have no definite proofs to the contrary. It is not improbable that the "Departure" refers to his leaving for Austria. The date given here is the last of May, which marks the middle point between the arrival of Salinas' letter and the poet's entrance into office. His leaving Spain must have been voluntary, for he says in the opening lines: "How cruel I am to myself! Where am I going? Whither do I depart? Why do I prove my own enemy and leave the place where my love remains behind?"³

- ¹ "Vos mi fé que comenzais
En la letra que comienzan
Mis amores—"

(*Obras*, page 133.)

- ² "Oh descanso en que me vi,
Que un día solo en mi mano
Reposaste!

.
Día del Mayo postrero
Que fin y comienzo fuiste
De mi gloria;
Quanto entonces placentero.
Tanto me es agora triste
Tu memoria—"

(*Ibid.*)

- ³ "Oh cruel de mi conmigo!
Donde voy? Donde me alejo?
Lastimado!
Como soy tan mi enemigo
Que mi parto de do dejo
Mi cuydado?"

(*Ibid.*)

A similar fervor is expressed in another beautiful poem called "A Dream" (*Sueño*). He tells a lady that he had a dream, "such as he ought not to have dreamt." The time was the month of May; he found himself in a lovely verdant spot on the banks of a clear river. He was free from care, there seemed endless spring in this enchanting place—but the "voice of his torments awakened him and shattered the sweet dream." He found himself "a prisoner on a barren rock, where only death could free him."¹

¹ "Yo, Señora, me soñaba
Un sueño que no debiera,
Que por mayo me hallaba
En un lugar do miraba
Una muy linda ribera,
Tan verde, florida y bella,
Que de miralla y de vella
Mi cuidados deseché,
Y con solo uno quedé
Muy grande, por gozar della.

En fin, que ninguna cosa
De placer y de alegría,
Agradable ni sabrosa,
En esta fresca y hermosa
Ribera me fallecia.
Yo, con sueño no liviano
Tan alegre y tan ufano
Y segura me sentia,
Que nunca pensé que habia
De acabarse alli el verano.

Lejos de mi pensamiento,
Desde á poco me halle,
Que asi durmiendo contento
A la voz del mi tormento
El dulce sueño quebré;
Y hallé que la ribera
Es una montaña fiera,
Muy áspera de subir,
Donde no espero salir
De cautivo hasta que muera."

(*Obras*, page 133.)

We are ignorant of the circumstances which prompted this poem, but it seems, indeed, a symbol of the poet's life; he found himself a prisoner on a barren rock, and only death could free him. After he had come to Austria his illusions vanished quickly enough. In 1528 he wrote to Anna von Schaumburg, in the dedication to Ovid's "Story of Pyramus and Thisbe" which he translated for her:

"The two lovers were simpletons in my opinion. They killed themselves in the glow of youth and love. They might have waited until they had grown old and cold, especially if they had to inhabit a palace in Germany, as I must do.¹

The other Anna, Doña Ana de Aragon, is a far more mysterious person, to whom the poet dedicated a few stanzas during her stay at the convent of Sta. Clara.² They are not wanting in graceful turns, but are somewhat stilted and lack the warmth of passion we meet in the other Coplas. This Anna de Aragon may have been the aunt of the two young Hapsburg rulers, for we know from another source that during the time when the poems now discussed were most probably written, the period preceding Castillejo's leaving Spain, the Infantas were staying at the convent of Sta. Clara. Francisco de Zuñiga, the learned jester of the Emperor Charles V, writes in his chronicle under the date of 1525,³ that the young queen, Catharine of Portugal, went to visit her aunts in Sta. Clara, after having been married by proxy to John III of Portugal, at

¹ *Historia de Piramo y Tisbe, traducida de Ovidio, para la Señora Ana de Xomburg.* (Page 136.) The spelling of the name shows the pronunciation of the Spanish X in Castillejo's time.

² *A Doña Ana de Aragon, estando en Santa Clara.* (Page 129.)

³ *Ms. Fo. 70, (Ms. Libr. of the Imper. Libr. in Vienna) Cap. XXXIV: De como la reyna partió de la villa de Medina del Campo, y fué para Madrid á ver las hijas del rey Catholico su abuelo, en el monasterio de Sancta Clara.*

Tordesillas, August 29, 1525. While time and place make it possible that we have to deal with one of the princesses, the tone of the poem does not seem sufficiently deferential to be addressed to a person of such high standing. There existed another Doña Ana de Aragón,¹ the third wife of D. Alonso de Aragón Gurrea, Count of Ribagorza, the descendant of a natural son of King Juan II. Doña Ana was the daughter of D. Diego Gomez de Sarmiento y Villandrando, Conde de Salinas y de Ribadeo, and Doña Maria de Ulloa.¹ She had four daughters; one, Doña Marina, was a famous court beauty.

Castillejo's love poems have, on the whole, a true ring, and convey the impression of being prompted by real feeling. It is due to his close connection with the court that his aspirations were directed to ladies of high degree.

Almost as numerous as his love complaints are the poems filled with laments concerning his health, which failed rather early in life. Before he left Spain he had at least two attacks of intermittent fever; he addressed some stanzas to a lady who came to visit him while he was lying sick in Madrid, but who "gave him life, only to deprive him of it again."²

Later in life no beautiful ladies came to visit him in his illness. He was afflicted with indigestion, rheumatism, sleeplessness and nervous pains, as we learn from a number of poems having for their theme his bodily ailments. Among the first we find the parody of an old romance, ("Por la matanza va el viejo," changed to "por la dolencia va el viejo.") It is put into the mouth of "Misery" (*Laceria*)

¹ See: *Doña Marina De Aragon* by Alfred Morel-Fatio, in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, Tome V. No. 2. (April-June, 1903.)

² "Y me hicistes vivir
Para de nuevo matarme!"

addressing "Fortune," and gloating over the number of victims which she has cast into the depth of despair, so that they know no pleasure and have lost patience.

Misery enumerates all the ailments she inflicts upon the sufferer. She does not shorten his life but she causes his appetite to be contrary, and thus gives him a bad complexion: she obliges him to indulge in long conversations with physician and apothecary, and causes him wretched and insidious pains in his right arm, so that he does not get a moment's peace.¹

These verses can hardly antedate his departure from Spain; yet they were probably written in Valladolid, for "Misery" plays her final trump, saying: "This knight, friend, is going to die in a hospital, and as fate has destined him so wretched a burial, he would commit a mistake if he did not secure a bed in that [the hospital?] of *Esgueva*, where his soul would be safe."²

¹ "El era viejo de dias,
 Pero no gran barragan
 A su mala complexion
 Es su apetito contrario,
 Y así, tiene ordinario
 Forzada conversacion
 Con físico y boticario.

"Y en el su brazo derecho
 Tenia un dolor muy grande
 El cual es tan pertinaz,
 Y de natura tan perra
 Que le consume y atierra,
 Y jamás le deja en paz—"

(Page 174.)

² "Ese caballero, amigo,
 Morirá en el hospital,
 Y pues su suerte le lleva
 A tan pobre sepultura,
 Errará si no procura
 Una cama en el de *Esgueva*,
 Donde el alma está segura—"

(*Ibid.*)

The Esgueva is a small stream near Valladolid, and a bed in the hospital of the Esgueva looks suspiciously like a resting place at the bottom of the river. Such outbreaks of despair are not uncommon in Castillejo. He is always entirely filled with one emotion. We find nowhere that he tempers grief with hope; religion does not proffer him any comfort. In his eyes his trials are due to freakish fate or to man's ingratitude. In a *Villancico* of great beauty and deep human pathos, he claims that six feet of earth will bring peace to his troubled heart.¹

In spite of his contempt for medicines the poet must have been conscientious in carrying out the physician's prescriptions. He tried various means of treatment. Once he applied "Palo Santo" or "Guayaco" or "Palo de las Indias," an American plant, used for curing festering sores and inflammations.² The tone of this poem is scurrilous; Castillejo wastes a great display of learning and a few passages of great beauty on an unworthy theme. In the last stanza he gives an amusing description of himself put into a vapor bath, repenting of his amorous adventures and trusting to the virtues of the "Palo Santo." His diet restricts him to six or seven ounces of bread and raisins;

¹ "Si amor cruel
Me hace la guerra,
Seis piés de la tierra
Podrán mas que él—"

(Page 128.)

The theme of the *Villancico* is contained in the lines:

"Alguna vez
Oh pensamiento
Serás contento—"

This *Villancico* is among the most beautiful lyrics in Spanish poetry; as such it was recognized by the poet Emanuel Geibel, who translated it into German.

En alabanza del Palo Santo de las Indias estando en cura de él (Page 175). Cf. also the editor's note.

his beverage is hot and bitter water and he feels as if he were roasted in his bed.¹

In one respect our poet differs greatly from his brethren; he never has a word of praise for the rose-wreathed cup. On the contrary, he complains that by order of the physician he has to abandon water for wine. He must forsake the lambent nymph whom he has served faithfully for fifty years, though men and women deride him.²

He revels in reminiscences, recalling the fountain of *La Piora* in Madrid, and a sparkling brook near a mill on the road to Aranda, where he passed one day in Spring.

¹ "Mira que estoy encerrado
En una estufa metido
De amores arrepentido,
De los tuyos confiado.
Pan y pasas
Seis ó siete onzas escasas,
En la tasa la mas larga,
Agua caliente y amarga,
Y una cama en que me asas—"

(Page 174.)

² "*Al agua, habiendole mandado que bebiese vino.*"
(Page 176.)

Bien sé que estáis enojada,
Señora Linfa hermosa,
Por una parte quejosa,
Por otro maravillada
De tan no pensada cosa.
Y que con la confianza
De los pasados favores,
Estará vuestra esperanza
Muy cierta de mis amores
Y segura de mudanza.

.
Cinquenta años os servi—

.
Que por beberos he sido
De los hombres y mujeres
Mil veces aborrecido."

The drops were dancing about his face like pearls, and as he tried to obtain a kiss, he nearly lost his life. We have no right to seek for any hidden meaning beyond what the poet tells us, but the proud fountain in Madrid, as well as the graceful sparkling spring suggest images of fair women belonging to a happier past.¹ We must, moreover, remember that it was from Aranda that the young Archduke was suddenly sent to be shipped to Flanders; the journey could not fail to produce a lasting impression on the followers of the Infante.¹

He welcomes "Bacco, gran Señor," with only moderate joy. This seems strange if we consider that he had always lived in wine-growing countries; for the sunny slopes of the hills in lower Austria showed in his days a flourishing wine culture, and its products were good and plentiful.

It was probably also by order of his physician that he betook himself to a watering place. He gives a very amusing description of the life at the baths in his poem: *Estando en los baños*.² Without naming the spot, he supplies details which fit the locality and medical qualities of the water-

¹ "Cuando en Madrid me hallé
Donde reinaba a la hora
La fuente de la Piora,
Por vuestra cause llegué
Hasta la muerte, Señora
.
Ya sabeis que de camino
Yendo á Aranda, no bien sano,
Paseándome un verano
Por la isla de un molino
Que Dios me puse á la mano.
Una fuentecica vi
Que manaba en la ribera,
Tan linda que enmudeci,
Y ahina casi me perdiera
Por un beso que le di."

² Page 178.

ing place Baden near Vienna. Here we find hot and cold springs, used both for bathing and drinking purposes. They are recommended for just such disorders as Castillejo complains of. Modern therapeutics probably modifies the use of the waters, but in his time the simple way was adopted, to combat heat with cold and cold with heat.¹

The place was much patronized by the court, and because of the sufferings the burghers had undergone during the siege of the Turks, they enjoyed King Ferdinand's special favor. In 1543 he permitted the burghers to use the ancient town-walls in restoring the damage wrought on private buildings, while the army of the Sultan had chosen the hills round Baden as a coign of vantage, whence to direct their attacks on the capital. The brave little town was constantly visited by members of the court; it seems only natural that the king's private secretary should choose it as a resort, all the more as it was situated close to Vienna.²

In a poem to which we have already referred, *Consolatoria estando con mil malos*, the poet begins with a detailed description of his pitiful condition. He lives in a wretched room (*en mala estancia*), and has to undergo ever-increasing sufferings; just at the time when day merges into cool night, when those oppressed by pains, passions, or fetters may look forward to a cheerful evening, he, broken down by fatigue, must expect greater pains. All these

¹ "Do combaten juntamente
Lo caliente con lo frio
Lo frio con lo caliente."

² Concerning Baden Cf. Dr. Hermann Rellert's *Beiträge zur Chronik der Stadt Baden bei Wien*. Cas illejo's name is not mentioned in the list of visitors during the years 1538-44. If he was in the king's retinue, this omission could be easily explained, as he would have taken lodgings in the castle. Therefore the omission does not militate against the theory that he stayed at Baden.

grievances he tells to a fair lady, *Consolacion*, who suddenly appears at his couch. Sadness, old age, weariness, indignation, and bitterness are troubling his heart; his body writhes in pains which sting and tear. Yet all his bodily torment comes only as an aggravation of his mental anguish; the greater part of his ills cannot be cured by the physician's art. Consolation ministers to him with gentle words. He had known her long before, when she was still called "Hope"; when she had appeared in a maiden's attire, not in widow's weeds (*con toca de viuda*). She had indeed induced him to have a high opinion of himself, yet she had not acted in bad faith, nor had she ever wished to allure him by false pretences. The things she depicted had seemed true to her, but she had been deceived by appearances. She says in conclusion: "You relied on my authority, but as I was changed, I had to change you. I was deceived, and had to deceive you. Who would not have been misled, who found himself in royal castles, on equal footing with the great of this world, his royal master's favorite? Everything was dissolved into a dream, all the tokens were lies; time and hope alike were lost, for popes, kings and princes are no respecters of true merit. One might be content with the comfort of Job and Tobias, that everything will come to an end."¹

A reference to the pope is only found once; apparently Castillejo had hoped for ecclesiastical preferment. To the disillusionment that comes with age, he was, naturally, no stranger. Repeated and prolix complaints of the life at court, still more, of his life far from court, mark the poems of his latter days. It is startling how outspoken he is in his verses; whatever may have been his faults, he was no flatterer. In these very stanzas which he addressed and

¹ "*Consolatoria estando con mil males.*" (Page 211.)

sent to the king, he depicts the failings of princes without extenuation.

"It is a common fault of princes to follow the whim of the moment, to bestow favors indiscriminately, and to be heedless of those who have ceased to arouse their interest. They possess many other shortcomings, but their three chief faults are: They heap gifts and favor without discrimination on the first who happens to take their fancy, while they stint and curtail the incomes of old and trusted retainers, who may die of hunger, their master does not care.

"Secondly: Princes are lacking in kindness and consideration. As soon as an old devoted servant has left his master's presence, he is immediately forgotten, even though he may have been an intimate friend and be in dire want. A woman, a buffoon, a henchman, even a falcon, horse or dog, may be surer of their lord's lasting affection, than the ancient confidential servant." A tale is told of a gentleman who had an old, devoted retainer; never before had he asked any favor, once however the old man requested a slight boon, and his master met him with a stare and wanted to know who he was. We have no proof that this story refers to Castillejo's personal experiences.

"In the third place," he continues, "princes are the most exacting of men. Directly they conceive a liking for a person they claim his entire time. They never give a thought to his comfort, they allow him no time for rest or nourishment. Yet one day, all this eager affection will vanish like a breath of air."¹

In the dedication addressed to the king, the poet asks for a theme (*un argumento de su intencion*); then he pursues through fifty stanzas what may rightly be called an abuse of princes. In spite of all he says, he must have felt pretty sure of his master's favor.

¹ "*Consiliatoria al Rey de Romanos Don Fernando.*" (Page 233.)

The most important of all Castillejo's works is the *Diálogo y discurso de la vida de corte*. The poet introduces two speakers, Prudencio, the old, sobered and disillusioned, and Lucrecio, the young, hopeful and expectant courtier; one is the Castillejo of youthful expectancy, the other the Castillejo "desengañado," who has abandoned his hopes and dreams. He had lived at the Spanish and Austrian courts; he knew the life at half a dozen others, and he criticises without reserve the lazy, frivolous existence of the courtiers. He describes them as idle, pompous, shameless, and thoroughly dishonest. Most of them are gamblers and intemperate, they spend their lives in silly brawls and purposeless galantries; they are full of conceit and always entangled in a net of intrigue. Yet they have small reason for their inordinate pride, because the majority are so poor that they have to pawn the fine clothes which give them their gallant appearance, to pay for the mere necessities of life.

Prudencio tells various anecdotes to support his statements. One is of a junk-dealer who had a Moorish wife, which was in itself sufficient to stamp the man as an outcast; he had dealings with a young scapegrace of a nobleman, who went so far as to issue drafts payable at his own father's death, in order to meet the accumulated interest on his debts. To the grief of all interested parties the old gentleman showed no inclination to depart.

A courtier's yearly pay amounted to about five thousand *maravedís*,¹ together with table board supplied by a steward.

¹ As to the exact value of this sum we refer to the "Diary of Camillo Borghese." Appendix IV to *L'Espagne au XIV^e et XV^e Siècle*, by Alfred Morel-Fatio, Heilbronn 1876. In the Chapter "Valor de la Moneda Castellana" he gives the value of a Ducat: "El Ducado [vale] onze reales. Ay reales de á ocho, de á quatro, de á dos zenzillos. El real zenzillo vale en moneda treynte y quatro maravedis. Ay en moneda de cobre piezas de a ochos maravedis, de á dos Mara-

Neither this steward, nor the Governor of the Pages, the "Maestresala,"¹ enjoyed the poet's good graces. He is reproached with no end of shortcomings; he would not serve anything for dinner or supper but beef (*vaca*) either hot or cold; as a most sumptuous dessert he would occasionally allow a cold sweetmeat (*gelado*); the soups were poorer than dishwater, and any complaints met with the excuses: the guests should have patience and wait till Friday, when fish would be served. Friday came, and only the most favored ones received a small piece of dried fish; those, however, who were not in the steward's grace had to be content with a couple of stale eggs.²

vedis. (Zeroło in his Dictionary, and others, give the value of a Ducat as 375 Maravedís.) A courtier's salary would therefore amount to about thirteen and one-third Ducats. The value of a Ducat is given, in one of the royal writs, as 90 Kreuzer, i. e. ninety cents at the utmost. It is probable that the purchasing power of money was about six times as great as this sum represents.

¹ The verses *A un Maestresala que le mandaren traer el manjar con linterna* also mention the "miserable supper"—*tan ruina cena*. (Page 162.)

² The same theme is treated in the "*Diálogo de los pajes*" by Diego de Hermosilla, Chaplain of the Emperor Charles V, in 1543.

Cf. Gallardo: *Ensayo*, 2471. Append: *Indice de los MSS.: de la Bib. Nac.*, p. 75, Vol. II. Its full title is: *Diálogo de los Pajes en que se trata de la vida que á mediados del Siglo XVI llevaban en los palacios de los Señores, del galardón de sus servicios, y del modo como los Grandes se gobernaban y debieran gobernarse*, edited by A. Rodríguez Villa, Madrid, 1901. See especially the first dialogue. The theme is the disillusionment of the father of a would-be page by the warnings of those who have learned from experience. Cf. Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*:

" Su deseo
Qu'el hombre pueda comer
Tan dura carne de vaca."

The opening scene of *Jornada III.* (*Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*.—Edition: Madrid, 1573, p. 177.)

And the odors, the noises, the rabble of waiters and diners! The table-linen patched and dirty; the dwellings filthy! Such things occurred in the courtier's life at home; when he was obliged to travel, matters were still worse. He must stumble over muddy roads in winter, through dust in summer; wretched beasts were staggering wearily under their burdens and falling by the wayside. If Castillejo had to travel as frequently as he gives us to understand, he certainly did not enjoy it. He complains constantly of bad roads, bad conveyances and poor accommodations. That he does not exaggerate is proved by Francisco de Zuñiga, who must have taken part in some of the same expeditions. His description of a journey of the King and his Queen Germaine de Foix gives color to the lurid picture which Castillejo draws of the old king's last expedition. Shorter journeys seem to have been equally inconvenient. Prudencio remembers how he and some other pages went to a festivity; fifteen had to drive in a hired coach, and made themselves a laughing-stock on their arrival. The old courtier recalls his first night in the royal palace; he and ten other pages had to lie sprawling on five pillows. Additional difficulties are encountered by a courtier who has to join a foreign embassy. If a man must be circumspect in his conduct when he is at his own court, how much more must he guard himself when visiting a foreign state.

As to these "Wandering Courtiers" (*cortezanos peregrinos*), the splendor of their display is only a masquerade. As soon as they return they are the same as they were before. A man whom Prudencio had encountered in Venice, and with whom he had frequent intercourse, displayed the greatest splendor while acting as ambassador. When he met him a little later, in plain clothes (*en birete*), and without his suite, he would not have recognized him, had not

the other accosted him first.¹ Among the worst evils of court life are envy, jealousy and the cabals of fellow courtiers. False witnesses and spies are ever ready to spread slander; though you be constantly at your master's beck and call, sacrifice every hour of rest and leisure, you will earn no reward. Sometimes a courtier has not enough to buy food sometimes he does not get a ducat in two years (*en dos años un ducado*). The court is a hotbed of hypocrisy and deceit; craft and malice are on every hand; you are met with apparent frankness only to be dealt covert blows; you are flattered and cajoled to reveal your secrets, only to be finally betrayed. Ingratitude reigns everywhere and is the especial reward of all who serve most faithfully.

Four classes of men are found at court: First, the Grantees who live for their amusement, and revel in honor and splendor. Secondly, the poor courtiers; their fate, like a cruel stepmother, has cast them ashore at court; their ultimate lot is to fill hospitals and to die on a pallet of straw. The third group is made up of messengers or tradesmen, who hover like moths round a candle, meet with a thousand difficulties and after all gain but small profits. Finally there are those who always sail with favorable wind (*con buen norte*); they are the real rulers of affairs—the covetous tribe (*la gente golosa*), the favorites who obtain wealth and office. Others, on the contrary, have nothing but trouble and expense, and are obliged to obey every reckless whim. Not less than thirty different fashions had appeared since the time that the Catholic King returned to Spain, when “our people” met him at Burgos.²

¹ Probably Don Lope de Soria. Cf. p. 17.

² It was in the year 1515 that Ferdinand the Catholic had returned from a three years' expedition against Navarre; he held the Cortes in Burgos, and incorporated the Kingdom of Navarre and Castile.

The time to which Castillejo refers covers therefore thirty-three years.

The different attempts at earning a living which the young would-be courtier Lucrecio enumerates represent, perhaps, the various trials Castillejo had made before he entered the king's service.

A young gentleman, he says, may become a soldier, a man of letters, an official, a merchant, a physician; he may join the church, become a land-holder or go to court. We learn that court life as such, without any definite office, was the proper thing for any young nobleman devoid of funds (*de bienes desguarnecido*), to earn his daily bread (*para tener que comer*). Castillejo has not a very good opinion of clerical life. Lucrecio says that he does not dare to become a clerk in orders; it would be very well for somebody who might be sure of a living; but the wait is long and the mode of life hard, even a heavy and tedious burden for some people. The rest and quiet may appear inviting to an outsider, but to others it is sickening and full of overwhelming contention.¹ Perhaps he is describing personal experiences!

We have no knowledge of Castillejo's personal appear-

¹ "Ni me oso
Tampoco á ser religioso
Inclinar, que bien podria,
Si en ello fuese dichoso
De alcanzar un abadía:
Mas es larga
La esperanza, y muy amarga
Aquella forma de vida,
Y aun para algunos es carga
Muy pesada y desabrida,
Y el reposo,
Que por defuera es sabroso
Y convida á tal vivienda,
Para otros achacoso,
Y mezclada de contienda
Que le atierra." (*Obras*, page 215.)

ance. No portrait of him seems to be extant,¹ and we meet with only two allusions which might be interpreted as having reference to his small stature. The first is the aforementioned parody: "Por la dolencia va el viejo." The poet says, that it appeared as if he had been successful in war, in spite of being so small.²

The other passage tells of a small bed belonging to him which is carried by his little horse; the stature of both accords with his own. The lines occur in a humorous poem: "A Knight's Answer to the Complaints of his Pack-Horse." The pack-horse in a previous poem had complained that he was too heavily laden and moreover ill treated, and the master refutes him, drawing attention to the harder work of Castillejo's "little nag" which has to carry his "wretched little bed, not bigger than a fist, but of about the same size as the owner, because they were cast in a die of their master's size."³

¹ The famous collection of miniatures in the Museum of Fine Arts in Vienna, which owes its existence to the young Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, King Ferdinand's son, contains the portrait of almost all contemporary celebrities, but that of our poet is not among the number.

² Que él, maguer que era chiquito,
Lo ganó por pelear. (Page 175.)

³ "Y aun el pobre caballejo
Que lleva la sin ventura
Camilla de Castillejo—
Ya tiene so el pestorejo
Una gentil matadura.
Ser la cama como un puño,
Y el caballo no mayor,
No carecen de primor,
Porque salieron de un cuño
Del talle de su señor."

(Respuesta del amo. Page 167.)

Gallardo, in his *Ensayo*, Vol. II, p. 287, gives the following note to

The best known of all the poems dealing with the poet's life is the one we have mentioned before, known by the title given by Wolf, "Lobspruch der Stadt Wien." The author called it "Reply to a Knight who inquired why he (Castillejo) was so contented in Vienna."¹ This poem is exhaustively treated in Wolf's essay, to which we have several times referred.² Nothing need be added here, save that we find a peculiar inconsistency between the last two *coplas* and the body of the poem; this leads us to believe in the possibility of a contamination with some other poem. It appears as if the conclusion of the "Respuesta" had been lost, and the last verses of another, or else an independent short poem had been joined. After enumerating all the advantages of his life, all the presents given to him and the various perquisites falling to his share, after extolling the convenience, beauty and stateliness of Vienna, the author bursts forth into the question: "Who induced you, Castillejo, who were so well-off in Spain, to come to Germany and to lose your pelt in a strange land?" Then he resumes his complaint about the vanity of hopes. It had not been the expectation of promotion, nor the hope of becoming a favorite that had induced him. Love for his king and extreme devotion were his undoing, as it had been that of many others.³

these poems: "Castillejo, yendo de camino con el Rey de Romanos, su amo, viendo que un caballero, su criado, mal trataba un macho solo que tenia, cargándolo más de lo que podía llevar, hizo una petición á su amo, estando el Rey y su corte presente. como se sigue, al Sr. Francisco de Salamanca."

¹ *Respuesta del autor á un caballero que le preguntó que era la causa de hallarse tan bien a Vienna?*

² *Sitzungsbericht*, March, 1849.

³ "Quien te engañó, Castillejo,
Estando bien en España,

The names of streets and suburbs of Vienna occurring in the poem are evidently given as they sounded to the ear of Castillejo, and are most ingeniously reconstructed by Wolf. We must remember that, in the time of the poet, the Middle High German idiom was the prevailing one in Lower Austria; Castillejo's spelling may give us, after all, a fairly true phonetic picture of the names he quotes.

Another well-known and important poem from which we may glean considerable information about some details of Castillejo's life, is the *Diálogo entre el autor y su pluma*.¹ The author reproves his pen for its uselessness; the pen apologizes and reminds him of various advantages it has brought him. It ought to have done well for him, the poet urges, as it enjoyed the best protection, under the wings of

A venirte en Alemaña
 Para dejar tu pellejo
 En tierra ajena y estraña?
 Si el engaño de tus ganas
 Y del mal yerro tamaño
 Fueron esperanzas vanas,
 Ya murieron, pues tus canas
 Les han hecho el cabo de año.

No me engañara esperanza
 Del interese traidor,
 Ni apetito de favor
 Ni deseo de privanza.
 Mas engañóme el amor;
 Y este dió
 Causa al yerro, porque amó
 A su rey demasiado,
 Con lo cual se han engañado
 Otros muchos como yo." (Page 180.)

¹ Wolf devotes a monograph to it: *Ueber einige unbekannt gebliebene Werke des Cristóbal de Castillejo in einer Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien. Als Nachtrag zu dem Aufsatz über Castillejo in der Sitzung von 31 März, 1849.*

a royal eagle, second to none but the imperial, to wit, of thrice-crowned Ferdinand.¹

If we know little of the official salary of the poet, we know less of the eventual income he may have derived from his writings. It does not appear probable that such poems as he was wont to compose, increased his means to any considerable degree. A court poet, like Castillejo, would hardly have any other return than a present now and then. We see this from the lines addressed to the pen, where the author says: "If the Lord had not been kind enough to give you a master who can earn some money in another way, tell me, pen, what would have become of you? Our fate would have been to die of hunger. In spite of your advantages, many persons who have served masters of far less consequence have achieved much greater success."²

¹ "Que excusa me podeis dar
De haber sido desastrada?
Pues no podeis alegar
Que no fuistes empleada
En excelente lugar;
So las alas y favor
Y servicio muy leal
Del aguila, principal
En el mundo, y la mejor
Después de la imperial;
Cerca del esclarecido
Infante—rey don Fernando,
Al cual solo habeis servido
Poco menos desde quando
Por nuestro bien fue nacido;

Que se halla en juventud
Tres veces rey coronado."

(Page 206.)

² "Y aun con tanta mejoria
Y ventaja de tal dueño,
Hallareis muchos hoy dia
Que con otro mas pequeño
Han hecho mas granjeria."

Others, he says, have risen with greater rapidity; they arrived but yesterday and now they have reached heights of which they never dreamed. Notwithstanding that he, the author, always did his work with the utmost care and perseverance—his persistence atoning for an eventual lack of skill—yet he never attained to fortune. Then the pen tries to refute him and recalls several instances where honors and distinctions were showered upon him. Yet it admits, that both might have fared better had the pen hired itself to a merchant, a tax gatherer, a paymaster or treasurer. Even their royal master's virtues—granted that pen and author were ever able to do them justice—are more apt to reflect glory on them, than to give them food. Nor is there any hope for improvement through the king's new estates. They only tend to increase his cares, and cause him to forget Castillejo as well as Alcalá (de Henares), where he saw the light, and honorable Arévalo where he was reared as a child.¹ The pen reminds him that through its instrumentality he has achieved much honor which otherwise would never have fallen to his share. Castillejo was born in Ciudad-Rodrigo, a place which never saw the court, yet for the sake of his pen, he was not only in close intercourse, but even a favorite with emperors and kings.

In spite of the pen's reasoning, the author leaves us under the impression that he feels slighted. The poem forms the last of the second part of the *Obras* [*De Conversacion y de Pasatiempo*], and has a *Villancico final*² with the theme: "I have seen the boats, mother! I saw them and it boots me not!" The poet had foolishly believed the king would at least keep those ships afloat that he himself had

¹ A town in España Tarraconense, in the neighborhood of Segovia, Ossuna and Escorial.

² The variant of the Vienna MS. calls this *Remate*.

equipped. Castillejo too saw the boats, but no good came of it.

The *Diálogo* is not only noteworthy for its poetical charm and the information it gives us concerning the poet's relations to his royal master; it is important also for its two dedications. The one reproduced in the *Obras* is addressed to Martin de Guzman, Chamberlain of the King of the Romans. He must have been an intimate friend of Castillejo, as his name occurs in several poems. He was, in a way, a fellow sufferer, for he also had to experience what it was to "serve without return" (*servir sine medrar*). Castillejo addresses him "*Vuesa merced*" which denotes in this place nothing but the usual polite address.¹

The second dedication, addressed to some illustrious person, breathes great deference, and has the superscription "*Illustre y magnifico Señor.*" There is a marked difference between the former and latter. The poet addresses a request to Martin de Guzman to memorize the poem, and to recite it, thus giving it that grace which the author had not been able to impart. The matter might be insipid in itself, therefore the poet thought it wise to intersperse it with anecdotes and proverbs. This indicates that Castillejo's peculiarity of mingling his poetic language with puns and colloquialisms was conscious and intentional. We find almost everywhere these "*burletas y refranes.*" He adds a few words of dignified thanks, and closes with an apology for the outspoken

¹ The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy says that *Vuesa merced* is used where no other title is given. In the spurious *Guzman de Alfarache*, part II, page 81, Vol. III, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, a cavalier reviles a peasant for want of deference, because he had dared to address him "*Vuesa merced.*" The address must have however implied great respect, for Castillejo calls Doña Ana de Aragon *Vuesa merced*. Cf. *Obras*, page 120.

manner of an old servant (*criade viejo*); it appears as though Castillejo had been a subaltern of Martin de Guzman, yet we have seen that it was King Ferdinand of whom he says to the pen: "Whom alone you have served." (*Al cual solo habeis servido.*) The difference between his and Guzman's respective positions can hardly have been great, for the poet treats him as a fellow sufferer: "*Solacium est miseris socium habere poenarum.*"

We do not know to whom the second of the two dedications is directed.¹ Its tone is that of great subservency and partly apologetic. As in his address to the king, the poet disclaims to be called troubadour, since he does not waste much time over his books, but takes them up "just once in every thousand years." He writes his verses "only for domestic occasions." His Lordship can see the deficiencies of style and finish in the author's *Trovas*. Perhaps he had not been as faithful as he should have been to the old Castilian measures, yet he had always championed them as far as he could, and feels it is wrong to treat them with disdain. Other nations are more loyal to their native measures. We may look for instances to the Hebrew poets, Moses, David, and the writer of the book of Job. Homer among the Greeks, Horace, Virgil, Martial among the Romans, Petrarch among the Italians. All these men have upheld the poetry of their own countries. Castillejo does not think that France has a literature worth mentioning; what there is, however, is not as despised as

¹ It is not reproduced in any of the editions of the *Obras*. We find it however in the monograph by Ferdinand Wolf: *Ueber einige unbekannt gebliebene Werke Cristóbal de Castillejo's*. (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe*, I v, 1850, p. 135.) Part of the dedication is translated into French and cited by Morel-Fatio in: *Études sur l'Espagne*. (*L'Espagne en France*. I serie, p. 21.)

those *coplas* which only a few years ago were the pride of Spain, the verses of the Marqués de Santillana and others. But now it is considered frivolous to write *coplas*. The poet does not except his own when he says that the majority of the poetry of the day is very poor stuff. If there is still a poet who knows how to turn out a good poem, he meets with harsh criticism. Neither the author's works nor the *Cancioneros* contain half of what they should; the majority of those that are in the market are vitiated.¹ Books are altogether too scarce in Spain, at least good books. The only ones to be found are works like *Amadis* and its descendants. In Arabic, in German and other foreign idioms, by no means equal to Spanish, hundreds and thousands of books of all kinds are composed. In the past the want of books was not felt so much, because before the wars with Naples, Spaniards were not in the habit of traveling. Now Spain reigns and holds dominion, not only over a large part of the old world, but also over the Indies. The Spanish tongue ought to grow and take pre-eminence, just as Latin did in the olden times. It behooves his Lordship,

¹ This expression is characteristic. Castillejo had no liking for *Cancioneros*, nor are his poems found in any of them. One or two are printed in the *Romancero general* (Bibl. de Aut. Espan., Vol. X). The *Cancionero general*, compiled in 1511 (*Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores*, Valencia, 1511), by Hernando del Castillo, could not contain any of Castillejo's works, yet, as there are various later editions, the *coplas* of a popular bard might have been added, especially to the edition of 1573. Castillejo is not found among its hundred and thirty-six song writers. See his poem: "To a lady who desired the *Cancionero general*, and he, not wishing to purchase it, sent her some very obscure *coplas*." (*A una dama que pidió el Cancionero general, y el, por non comprarle, le envió unas coplas suyas muy oscuras.*) His reasons were perhaps simply those of economy, for we learn at another place (*A la misma, con otro proposito*) that the price of the *Cancionero* was 5 Reales. The *coplas* which he styles "very dark," are a great deal clearer than many of his other verses.

occupying a high place (en lugar donde está), to see that this condition be realized.

A great many of the numerous personal and historical allusions, scattered through Castillejo's works, still defy any attempt to unravel them. In a long poem *A la Cortesia* he addresses an apparition, much after the manner of the *Consolacion*. This time it is a fair, deceitful and elusive lady; he tells her he has been seeking her from pole to pole (desde uno á otro norte) and recounts a number of countries in which he claims to have traveled: Spain, France, Italy, Slavonia, Flanders, Poland, Germany, and England. He has been looking for Cortesia in highways and byways, even in Rome at the Holy See, and was sent back to Castile, her natural abode.¹

We can easily account for visits to most of these countries: Flanders, the dukedom of Philip the Fair, would naturally see occasional visits of the Hapsburg princes; Poland, a near neighbor of the newly-acquired kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, a hotbed of civil strife, very often claimed Ferdinand's attention. France had to be traversed by anyone wishing to travel by land from Austria to Spain. It would surely be visited by the Emperor's brother during the prolonged warfare between Charles V and Francis I. But the visit to England is surprising. It is true Katharine of Aragon, aunt of Charles and Ferdinand, was still wearing out the days of her pseudo-widowhood; a legation from her royal nephew might easily have included Castillejo. His allusion to foreign ambassadors whom he met in

¹ "Fuime á Roma en conclusion,
Por estar allí la silla:
Remitiéronme á Castilla,
Do tiene su habitacion
Natural." (Page 234.)

Venice (*Diálogo de la vida de corte*) furnishes a further proof that he had been in Italy. On the other hand, all documents bearing Castillejo's sign-manual are dated from Austria or Bohemia; if the poet was sent in any official capacity to foreign countries, his duties as secretary must have been suspended in the meanwhile. The address to Cortesia may contain hidden compliments to one of the poet's patrons. We read that *Cortesia* was born in Medina, reared in Valladolid, exercised her skill in Madrid and later in Toledo; that she was well known in Granada and the whole of Andalusia and finally went to Rome to be crowned. While this appears to refer to the king, we lack explanation for the other places in Cortesia's career. The poet is by no means an admirer of his fair visitor, but reproaches her with harsh words: Like a lewd woman she bestows her favors on every one; for this reason she has fallen into the hands of robbers, and her name is attached to all low trades. She is mendacious and doublefaced, a vain flatterer, coarse, foolish and malicious. She has the nature of a vixen, and is full of subterfuges and dissimulations, as Juan de Mena had described her. She had been unknown in Rome while the Senate was in power, but as soon as she arrived and brought her empty titles everything went wrong. Formerly people used the positive in their talk, now the superlative is hardly sufficient. Now a man considers himself insulted when anybody addressess him "Most virtuous Sir." Cortesia with her lisplings has defiled the style and banished the virtue of Castile.¹

Although Castillejo's time was fruitful in epoch-making events he does not reflect them in his poetry. The Reformation he passes by without a word of protest. Only once he

¹ "A la Cortesia." (Page 235 ff.)

uses Luther's name as a term of opprobrium; incidentally he also mentions Lucero, one of the most heinous of religious persecutors in Spain¹.

Once or twice we have heard him talking about "las Indias," otherwise he has nothing to say about the New World or the conquest of Mexico. He shows particular dislike for Henry VIII of England; he quotes him once as an example of royal ingratitude, another time of matrimonial faithlessness. In the *Diálogo de la vida de corte* he tells of "that English Cardinal" who first reached such power and enjoyed such favor, and was afterwards ill treated by his king. His successor Cromwell, whom Castillejo calls "Cramuel", met with a similar fate.²

The second time the English King is mentioned in a poem to Don Pedro de Laso, the same to whom the last official note by Castillejo was addressed. It is a kind of New Year's greeting, entitled "To the Troublesome Year of Forty":³ "He of London, who has given a new proof of his insolence, as he had done before, by repudiating his lawful wife."⁴ This refers to the marriage of ill-fated Katharine How-

¹ "Resucitase Lucero
A corregir en España
Una muy nueva y estraña [secta]
Como aquella de Luthero
En las partes de Alemaña."
(Page 157; cf. also editor's note, *ibid.*).

² "Y aquel Inglés cardenal,
Que por hacerse tan bravo,
Tratado tan bien y mal
De su rey Enrique octavo;
Y tras él
Su sucesor Cramuel." (Page 218.)

³ *Al año trabajoso de cuarenta.* (Page 165.)

⁴ Has dado [El año] al de Londres osadia
De dejar, hecha la prueba,
La mujer que ya tenia

ard, immediately after Anne of Cleves' banishment to Somerset House. A number of further mishaps are also noted in the troublesome year. The meteorological conditions were unfavorable, the course of the celestial bodies seemed changed; the heavens were closed and earth robbed of its allotted share of snow and rain; moreover it has changed Springtide to Christmas in Germany and has spread drought over the greater part of Europe.¹

The Landgrave Philip of Hessa, one of the leaders of Protestant Germany, the head of the great Schmalcald Confederacy, was charged with bigamy. He was a bitter and personal opponent of the Emperor, and Castillejo treats him mildly when he says the year had given the Landgrave new license for his bigamy.² The obnoxious year had also brought confusion into Hungary³ and danger from the Turks, who were induced to intrigue with Venice, and had thus caused the noble King of the Romans to shed Christian blood.⁴ The poet touches here upon a tangle of six-

¹ "Hasnos abrasado el suelo
Con tus calores alevés,
Y con humidades breves
Desterradonos del cielo
Las justas lluvias y nieves.
Hasnos dado sequedad
En todo la chistiandad,
Desde Grecia hasta España,
Y traído en Alemaña
Verano por Navidad."

² Has dado licencia nueva
Al Landgrave in bigamia.

³ Concerning these Hungarian troubles *cf.* foot-note in the *Obras*, by the Editor.

⁴ "Has tornado á concertar
El turco con venecianos
Y al noble rey de romanos
Hecho fuerza de tomar
Las armas contra cristianos."

teenth-century politics. Ferdinand had been engaged in one of the frequently occurring punitive expeditions against the great Italian towns, which drained his and the emperor's exchequer, and used their energies to little purpose. Genoa had been threatening Constantinople; her rival, Venice, had joined Sultan Solymán the Magnificent, who had entered the ranks of the competitors for the vacant dukedom of Milan, which, through the death of Francisco Sforza, the last of the Condottieri, was thrown on the market for the highest bidder.

The "troublesome year" was finally dismissed, and 1541 was ushered in; it came "gently and hopefully."¹

In another passage, taken from the long "Dialogue between Truth and Flattery," the poet puts into the mouth of Truth a harsh criticism of all European countries. In Spain pride and presumption are prevailing, falsehood is triumphant in France, the Italians are an inconsistent people, while in Hungary we find wickedness in all its forms, faithlessness, cruelty and tyranny. When Greece had power, she was too loquacious; and as to Muscovites, Poles and Russians, gluttony is their besetting sin. Then, traveling from the North into populous Germany, we meet with an ungrateful and covetous race, while Flanders is the home of avarice; if, in the end, we pay a visit to England, we shall see her full of malice.²

We do not know whether the English poet Samuel Butler had ever read Castillejo, but his "Sir Hudibras" has a forerunner in our poet's German swashbuckler who delivers a humorous address to his men whom he has brought from

¹ Vos, él de cuarenta y uno,
Que venis por sucesor,
Entrad manso y con amor.

² *Diálogo entre la Verdad y la Lisonja. Interlocutores: Adulación y Verdad.* (Page 236.)

Bohemia. They came, induced by valor, not in the hope of reward. Until now they have not suffered want, but at present, due to somebody's fault, they feel the pangs of hunger, and are surrounded on all sides by Turks and other hostile forces, while Peter Hradzin and his powerful followers are dead. If they wait another day, death will reach them too, which would be of no advantage to the King. The best plan, therefore, would be to retreat so as to avoid useless ruin. Better the blush of shame in your face, than a wound in your heart. Say what you like, if it be an honor to fight, it is no less an honor to run away when occasion requires it. Let each one take to his heels, the leader will try to keep on ahead.¹

This logic which would do honor to Falstaff, is frequently expressed by writers of the times, as well by those of a later generation.²

¹ *Razonamiento de un Capitan General á su gente.* (Page 162.)

² "For those that ran away and fly
Take place at least o' the enemy."

ll. 609-10, part I, canto III, p. 106,

and:

"For those that fly may fight again
Which he can never do that's slain."

ll. 293-4, part III, canto III, p. 403.

(*Hudibras* by Samuel Butler, edited by Henry G. Bohn; Bell, London, etc. 1895.) The editor gives a very full note to the second couplet. He mentions various sources from which Butler may have taken the frequently quoted lines. One is from the *Satire Ménippée*, publ. in 1595:

"Souvent celuy qui demeure
Est cause de sôn meschef;
Celuy qui fuit de bonne heure
Peut combattre de rechef."

Bohn mentions also the couplet:

"He that fights and runs away
Shall live to fight another day"—

which is so frequently mistaken for the original that, as he says, wagers have been laid regarding its authenticity.

We have now to consider a group of poems which defy the commentator, and for which we find no clue among the meager facts known concerning Castillejo's life. It is for this reason we have called them Enigmatical Poems. They touch upon events known only to an intimate circle. Some have, as a peculiar feature of their own, a symbolism which we may call the Color Scheme.

It is known that colors have, and always had a definite significance, which seems to be the same in all countries. Yellow has a sinister meaning, denoting envy, grief, mourning, even despair; it is contrasted with green, the color of hope. In one of the dialogues, "Concerning the Conditions of Women,"¹ the poet mentions that widows, as a sign of mourning, wear "Yellow hoods, and long cloaks, trailing through the dust." Grey (*pardo*) must also have denoted sadness, while black obviously indicates the depth of sorrow. Blue denotes constancy and white innocence. This play in colors occurs in several of the minor poems, as in the *coplas* accompanying the gift of a rosary to a lady, and in those sent with some beads.² The first of the poems closes with the lines: "The hardest fate is that the green goes to strangers and the grey is all my own."³

In the other poem he is much less courteous, for he says:

¹ *El Diálogo de las condiciones de las mujeres.* (P. 180.)

"Tocas azafranadas, las colas arrastradas por el polvo y por el cieno."

² *A una dama que habiendole dado unas cuentas, y ella dádolas á otro, le tornó á enviar otros con un cordon pardo y verde.* (P. 120.)

Also: *Otra, enviándole unas cuentas de Inglaterra—guarnecidas.* (*Ibid.*)

³ "La pena con que mas peno
Es ver que es lo verde ajeno,
Y lo pardo todo mio."

"I shall be pleased if you have the same grief and sorrow through my green that I have through your brown."¹

The color scheme is very high run to death in a long ballad, called "The Tower of Sighs" (*Torre de Viento*), in which Castillejo has taken up the dry sentimentality of a ballad by Juan de la Encina, "Gritando va el caballero," and fashioned it in his own way.² But the tearful knight commits all his absurdities in good earnest, while Castillejo gives us to understand that his sorrows partake much of the material of his tower. The name he has given to his airy edifice already hints at a mystification of the reader. Wind is mentioned in other connections as unstable building material. In the "Dialogue between Truth and Falsehood," Truth says: "Your followers must needs be cheated in the end and erect 'Towers of Wind.'"³

The *mezquino amador* has lost his lady at the age of twenty-two, and he goes to build an edifice for the purpose of enshrining a most extraordinary image of the deceased; and intends to finish his days in mourning and mortification of the flesh. Castillejo begins with an imitation of Petrarch, an invocation to his eyes.⁴

¹ "Yo quedaré bien pagado
Si tal pena y tal cuidado
Teneis de mi verde vos
Cual yo de vuestro morado."

² *Romancero General*, D. A. Duran: in Bibl. de Autores Españoles, Vol. X, p. 160, no. 207. The title of the ballad in question is: *El Mezquino Amador*. It has also found its way into the *Cancionero general*, where it is attributed to Don Juan Manuel.

³ "Engañados
Anduvieron y burlados
En pos de tu seguimiento,
Haciendo Torres de Viento." (Page 211.)

⁴ *Le Rime de Francesco Petrarca* (ed. Carducci and Ferrari), Canzone XIV, "Occhi miei lassi," p. 15, and Sonnet LXXXIV: "Occhi piangete," p. 128. The *Torre de Viento* was addressed to Anna von Schaumburg. Its first line reads: "*An acordado mis ojos.*"

The tower of sighs is built on a foreign shore, but it is not constructed in the methodical way of the melancholy cavalier whose "House of Sadness" gave pain by the very sound of its name; its wood was of a yellow color, named "Despair," the walls showed black borders, and black cement was employed to hold buff tiles in place over a black lintel, made of Bezoar stone. Doors and floors are all of dull black lead, to indicate despondency. Castillejo's edifice is based on his lady's merits; he hollowed deep cellars, lined with stones in blue and brown. The poet's vitals had to do for sand, his soul for the lime, slaked with the water from his eyes. His cares and troubles were eager workmen, fretting the stones carefully, and each of these stones was bought at the price of a thousand pains. Thus he runs the whole gamut of metaphors, of which we shall only note those which deal with the symbolic play on colors. His passion supplies excellent wood in grey and buff, also nails as black as a negro. His reason, on the other hand, provides green tapestry: though watered with his tears, it is of great beauty, interwoven with gold, and of such rich texture, that an ell of it could not be bought at any price.¹

The various and mixed metaphors of this long poem, even if intended to be slightly ironical, no longer conform to our standard of good taste, yet they do not defy our understanding. But Castillejo has left us a quantity of others in which even the most ingenious guesswork must abandon the task. Taken independently, without hidden meaning, some of these verses are very beautiful, expressing a great and sudden grief which has befallen the poet. Others are full of obscure references to people and events now fallen into utter oblivion.

¹ We have here again a play on the word *ana*, the Spanish for "ell."

Two *Villancicos* have *Libreas* for their subject. Whatever these garments were, they must have been sumptuous in color and material, evidently of embroidered velvet.¹

In spite of the gorgeousness of the apparel, Castillejo was not very pleased to wear it; in the *Diálogo del autor y su pluma* he says: "I do not know what will become of you and me, clad in livery, I do not know where to turn; both of us are broken down in the strife."² A supply of wearing apparel is not included in the documents containing the agreements concerning Castillejo's wages and emoluments. If a livery had formed part of them, this would have been noted; possibly the poems antedated his departure for Austria. We may conclude that whatever the *librea* was, it stood for a badge of servitude. Court dresses, and not always new ones, counted among the gifts which a great personage would bestow upon those of his retinue. This is supported by various authors, among others by Francisco de Zuñiga in his *Cronica*. Castillejo, too, must have received similar presents, but he maintained a proper feeling of dignity. In a short poem he expresses great annoyance that a velvet suit had been sent him that was not properly wrapped.³ The colors of Castillejo's two li-

¹ The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy defines the word *Librea*: "El vestuario uniforme que los Reyes, Grandes Titulados y Caballeros dan respectivamente á sus Guardias, Pajes, y á los Criados de escalera abaxo, el cual debe ser de los colores de las armas de quien le da.

"Por semejanza se llama el vestido uniforme que saquen las cuadrillas de caballeros on los festejas publicas, como canas, masqueras, etc.

"Las libreas todas fueran de tercio pelo de diversos colores y muchas dellas bordadas."

² "Asi que no sé que sea
De vos y mi, ni do vamos,
Vestidos de una librea,
Segun con ella quedamos
Rotos en esta pelea."

³ *A una guarnicion de Terciopelo que le envió un caballero.* (Page 161.)

breas are dark green and buff or yellow. These colors do not occur among those of the Hapsburg household. In the books of contemporary costumes, a combination of green and yellow is met only once in the portraits of two heralds.¹

There is no doubt that the first of the two *Libreas* was sent to him. He says that the shades of the colors are a reflection of his fate; the dark green indicates the dimness of his hope, the bright yellow his distinct and well-defined grievances. "According to my deserts, I must dress in two colors (*cf.* Shakespeare's "Motley"), what I ardently desire is wrapt in darkness, while my sufferings are standing out in bold light."²

The other *Villancico* treating of a *Librea* has for its theme the lines: "Despair arose from the abundance of Hope and saddens my heart."³ Grief, fierce and sudden, has befallen me at a time when least expected. "What I loved best, and by whom I was loved most, was suddenly lost. Because I did not apprehend what was to happen, pain befell my sad heart."⁴

¹ H. C. Ströhl: *Heraldischer Atlas*, Tafel I, "Herolde des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts," Fig. 4 und Fig. 7.

² "En colores se declara
El color de mi ventura:
Que la esperanza es oscura
Pero la congoja clara." (*Ibid.*)

³ "En la mayor esperanza
Nació desesperacion
A mi triste corazon." (*Ibid.*)

⁴ "La cosa que mas amé
Y que mas me quise á mi,
En un punto la perdí
Cuando menos lo pensé.
Por no temer lo que fué
He dado mortal pasion
A mi triste corazon." (*Ibid.*)

Nothing contradicts the assumption that this outburst of grief refers to Castillejo's sudden separation from his young master; but as we have no evidence to support this theory, we must give it for what it is worth.

In a *Mote*, the color scheme is worked out in detail. It runs in very melancholy strains. Even when hunting, sorrow accompanies the poet; it will never depart, and hope is at an end. A very magnificent hunting suit is described, in which the colors green, yellow and gray occur in a manner to indicate that the sinister ones always shroud and cover those of good omen.

In a series of other poems we meet riddles which we have no means of reading aright, and we can only attempt to explain them by hypotheses built on very doubtful foundations. One is a *Glosa* on the theme: "We must go to Madrid, all of us must die." Its title is "The Departure of the Court for Madrid."¹ It exhorts the courtiers to behold "the armament of grief." Danger and pain are drawing nigh, nor can we hope to escape from their powerful grasp: we all have to die.² It is not unlikely that these lines bear on the sudden dismissal of the Infante's court. The repetition "We all have to die," is emphatic. Further

¹ "A las tierras de Madrid
Hemos de ir:
Todos hemos de morir."

(*En una partida de la corte para Madrid.* Page 134.)

² "Apercibid, cortesanos,
Las armas del sufrimiento,
Que el peligro y el tormento
Ya los tenemos cercanos.
De sus poderosas manos
Es yerro pensar huir,
Todos hemos de morir."

(*Ibid.*)

on we find: "The king too is leaving, it is said that he goes from Valladolid to Madrid."¹

If the theory offered here is correct, this refers to young Charles the Fifth's return to Madrid after the most unsatisfactory Cortes held in Valladolid, in 1518, "where he had drawn up a list of those he wished to smite."² The poet examines whether various persons were doomed, and has to answer in the affirmative in each individual case. "Is Figueroa going to die?" "Yes, he is." We have encountered the name of Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, as one of the King's later correspondents and personal friends—evidently he belonged to the number of those from whom Ferdinand was separated in Spain, and whom he recalled to Vienna.

As to Castillejo, he is condemned to die a double death. The first time the impending changes were enough to slay him, but hope supported him until now. Yet, as he has to leave, untold anguish condemns him to die.³

But his desire will live, and, though walking other roads, will always be where "Your Grace" (the Archduke?) dwells.⁴

¹ El Rey está de partida,
Dicen que para Madrid
Parte de Valladolid.

² Puestos en un memorial
Tiene los que ha de herir. (Ibid.)

³ "La primera vez mori
Muerte de sola mudanza,
Y en virtud de la esperanza
He vivido hasta aqui,
Alejando me de ahí
Ansias que no sé decir
Me condenan á morir." (Ibid.)

⁴ "Mi deseo vivirá
Que va por otro camino,
Caminando de continuo
Do vuesamerced está."

A number of contemporary names occur in two other poems, yet only a few admit of any conjectures as to their bearers. The followers of "a lady who had many admirers" are enumerated, and each one receives a cut from the poet's merciless lash. In justice to him it must be said that he does not spare himself.¹ The list of admirers comprises Don Francisco, Calvete, Horozco, Hurtado, Castillo, Sepúlveda. We recognize some well known nobles among them.²

The poem was probably written to amuse—or annoy—an inner circle of courtiers; like certain others it is most obscure. The *Fiesta de las Chamarras* defies explana-

¹ *A una dama que tiene muchos servidores.* (Page 112.)

² One Don Francisco was chamberlain at the court of Charles V. Moro Calvete is possibly identical with Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella. He flourished about 1539 to 1549, and is the author of the once famous "Journey of Philip II: *El felicísimo viage del mvi alto y muy poderoso principe Phelipe, hijo del emperador Carlos Quinto maximo, desde España á sus tierras de la baxa Alemaña, con la descripción de todos los estados de Brabante y Flandes. Escrito en quatro libros.* Anvers, Martin Nucio. MDLII." Also: *De Aphrodisio Expugnato, quod vulgo Africam vocant*, published in 1550.

Horozco may have been Alfonso de Horozco of Avila, an Augustine monk—"como Lucifer cayó"—who died in 1591, 91 years of age. He was court chaplain to Charles V and Philip II.

Hurtado must have been one of the Mendozas, perhaps the same Don Diego whom the king addressed so frequently in his letters, ambassador in Venice, and famous author. Besides Don Diego, Don Rodrigo and Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza were at the Emperor's court. One became later Marqués de Montes Claros, the other, after fighting in Charles' wars with France, went to Chile.

Castillo may possibly be identified with the editor of the *Cancionero general*.

Sepúlveda (Juan Genesisio) was Charles' historiographer. He was born near Cordova in 1491, studied at Alcalá, Bologna and Rome. He acquired an unenviable reputation by publishing a book which sought to justify the atrocities perpetrated by the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico. This book was suppressed in 1572.

tion from title to *envoy*; its seventeen stanzas are as many riddles. A number of persons are introduced, some of whom, like Martín de Salinas and Luis de Tovar, are old acquaintances; the rest are unknown.

As to the word *Chamarra*, or *Zamarra*, it is the name given to a stout, rustic garment, worn by country people, and by gentlemen, when traveling. Being loose and comfortable, it contrasted favorably with the tight and complicated court dress. Don Antonio de Guevara, in his "Contempt of the Court and Praise of the Village"¹ extols the freedom from court etiquette, and the possibility of donning simple and comfortable garments. "A man might walk about in his Chamarra."²

What has the Chamarra to do with all these courtiers? They all have donned it, and "Queen Mischief" (*la reina nuestra malicia*), evidently a "Lady of Misrule," is calling the Chamarras. They appear separately and jointly, they are treated as living personages, independent of their wearers, just as Castillejo treated his pen as a distinct personality. Thus he hurls invectives, revels in puns, and gives suggestions which have a meaning unknown to outsiders. The Chamarras are buff, brown and white (*leonado, morado, blanco*). Castillejo's own had been blue, while

¹ *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de la aldea*, by Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Mondoñedo, who died 1545. Castillejo mentions him in the *Diálogo de la vida de corte*.

² We find the following definitions of the name:

Chamarra or *Zamarra*: Vestidura de Jerga o paño burdo, parecida á la zamarra.

"Y para vestirse guarnece sus miembros de estos vocablos": *camisa, jubon, sayo, chamarra*. (Alejo de Venegas. Fol. I, 192.)

Chamarra, (fem.) Vestido talar con mangas, que se trahe pendiente de los hombros, sin ceñirse al cuerpo. En Italiano se llama *ropa* o *Balandran*. (Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.)

it was in its pristine splendor.¹ It had been woven in Segovia, cut in Valladolid, was dragged through the whole world, and, to Calatayud it had come, changed to mourning. Segovia and Valladolid are comparatively near to Madrid, but Calatayud is in Aragon, a considerable distance from the capital; if Castillejo was there in his later years, as we may infer from the *copla*, the poem shows at least that he had returned to Spain while he was in King Ferdinand's service.

To enter upon the contents of the remaining stanzas would not serve any purpose, as the allusions made therein do not convey any meaning to us. Only one passage admits of a hypothesis, which we give with due regard. One of the *Chamarras*, that of Mercado, the very first that appears, is supposed to be made of paper; it is reproached by its master, who says that he has to blush because the *Chamarra* is white.² The *Chamarra* of Canseco, another unknown participant in the feast, complains that for his unworthy sake the "Knights of Medina" have threatened evil to it.³ Perhaps the expression "Knights of Medina" refers to the printers and publishers of Medina del Campo, where all

¹ "Vos, Castelléjo, salid
Con la que en azul fue novia,
Tejida dentro en Segovia,
Cortada en Valladolid.
Por todo el mundo traída,
Y en su triste senectud
Salió de Calatayud
De viejo luto teñida." (Page 161.)

² "Que ¿ porqué siendo vos blanca,
Me paro yo colorado?"

(Here we have a further pun, as *Blanco* means a small silver, *Colorado* an almost worthless copper coin.)

³ Que a vuestra causa mesquina
Caballeros de Medina
Mal amenazado me han.

official decrees, such as the *Pragmaticas* and the Minutes of the *Cortes* were published. Mercado's paper *Chamarra* is perhaps to be understood in the same connection. The whole poem has been suggested to be a skit upon the Sumptuary Laws, issued in great numbers, and embodied in the *Pragmaticas y Capítulos que su Magestad de Emperador y Rey, nuestro señor, hizo en Valladolid, 1537*.¹

These prohibitory laws were in themselves sufficient to cut the sinews of industry in a country which had derived its wealth chiefly from its trade in wool and silk, especially from its unsurpassed art of wrought and embroidered tissues. For a while the *Mestá*, that powerful union of sheep farmers and wool traders, had governed the marts of Europe. Moreover, many of the inhabitants, chiefly of the Moorish districts, had achieved such skill in weaving, embroidering in silk and metal, and such cunning craft of working in gold and silver, that even to this very day their art, so ruthlessly destroyed by a foolish legislation, is deplored as one of the lost treasures of civilization. Courtiers and burghers had reveled in finery. Spain was not yet alive to the fact that the welfare of a nation is promoted by its brisk industry, not by personal hoardings; hence also the prohibition of the export of precious metals, even woven or embroidered. Laws which restricted personal adornment to a minimum created general indignation; libels and pasquils ridiculing them were not wanting. It may be that the *Fiesta de las Chamarra*s belongs to this class, showing courtiers in a peasant's garb; or perhaps the unpretentious garment had likewise fallen under

¹ Fué impresa la presente obra en la muy noble villa de Medina del Campo por Pedro de Castro, impresor de libros. A costa de Juan de Medina, mercader de libros, vezino de Madrid. Acabóse á ocho dias de Mayo, año de MDXXXVII.

the ban. How easily the prohibitions might be stretched to suit the purpose of malevolent or over-zealous judges, can be seen by perusing any of the *Pragmaticas*. But it is also possible that the *Fiesta de las Chamarras* was simply a masquerade, in which the garments served as long cloaks or dominoes; whatever may be the hidden meaning of the poem, it belongs to the most mordacious and relentless satires ever written.

III.

CASTILLEJO'S ATTACK UPON THE ITALIANISTS—ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON SPANISH POETRY—THE CASTILIAN MEASURES USED BY THE POET—CASTILLEJO AS TRANSLATOR—QUOTATIONS FROM THE CLASSICS AND THE BIBLE—THE LOST "CONSTANZA," THE "SERMON DE AMORES"—CASTILLEJO UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARCHPRIEST OF HITA; OF BOCCACCIO—PUNS AND COLLOQUIALISMS USED IN THE "OBRAS"—LIFE OF THE PERIOD ILLUSTRATED BY HIS VERSES.

CASTILLEJO is known for the tenacity with which he championed the losing cause of the old Spanish metres. They were doomed to yield to the foreign invasion, though he himself furnishes the strongest proof of their right to exist. If he had remained in Spain, he might have stemmed the tide of innovation, or might have himself yielded to the insinuating cadence of Italian verse. He did not fully appreciate the changes which time had wrought even in conservative Spain.

The country ruled by Charles V was no longer the Spain that had been governed by the Catholic Kings. The foreign ruler had been the first to open the frontiers which had been so carefully guarded against alien influences, to a host of foreigners with strange customs. It is possible that, when old and accustomed to Spanish ways, the Emperor preferred the Spanish idiom and Spanish customs to those in which he had been brought up; as a young man he looked upon the Spaniards as gloomy barbarians; he did not understand their speech and was in no hurry to undertake his regal duties.

Spanish poetry in the motherland was not slow to

conform to the new fashion. The story of the meeting of Messer Andrea di Navagiero, the Venetian ambassador, with Boscan, and the latter's introduction to Italian poetry and prosody, while both men were taking a walk in the Alameda of Granada, is too well known to require further notice. It is hardly possible that so slight a cause turned the trend of Castilian poetry, but Garcilaso de la Vega, Boscan's friend, eagerly embraced the new style, and it was in vain that the poet in far-off Austria, together with a small band of followers, resisted the abandonment of the old and the growth of the new forms. Castillejo loyally clung to those bards who were for him the embodiment of Spanish Classicism: Juan de Mena, the Marqués de Santillana, the two Manriques, Don Juan Manuel and Torres Naharro. In the eagerness of combat he does not shrink from becoming personal; he inveighs with extraordinary vigor against the leaders of the New School, Boscan and Garcilaso. But both were dead when their opponent rose in battle; it must have taken some time before the new manner of composing verses had become generally known. The opposing camp did not join in the controversy, but it held the victorious side, and maintains it to the present day. Lope de Vega, although he says in his *Dorotea*: "Dios perdone á Castillejo, que bien habló de estas trovas," and in his *Isidro* calls him: "festivo e ingenioso poeta castellano,"¹ was the one who finally settled the fate of the old Castilian *Trovas*.

Garcilaso fell in battle in the year 1535, and Boscan died in 1542 on a journey to Catalonia, his native land, whither he had gone with the Duke of Alba; Castillejo's aggressive stanzas, therefore must have been written in 1543 or 1544. He attacks the Italians in two poems; one is called:

¹ Cf. *Juicios críticos* to Castillejo's *Obras* in the *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*

"Against the Exaggerations in Spanish Love Poems,"¹ the other: "Against those who abandon the Castilian verses and follow the Italians."² The poems form a strange medley of Spanish *Coplas*, Sonnets and *Ottava Rimas*. The poet wanted to show that, if he spurned the new measures, it was not from inability to use them. Castillejo, combating the dead, summons other famous men then deceased, among them Jorge Manrique, Garci-Sanchez, Cartagena, and Torres Naharro, whose works were a most important factor in the development of the Spanish national drama.³ All are called upon to voice their disapproval of the new methods; finally divine mercy is implored for the two innovators. Castillejo does not deny the beauty and grace of their verses, only they are serving the wrong cause. In the first of the two controversial poems, the one which inveighs against the hypersentimentality of love poems, to the exclusion of good sense, he admits that Boscan writes daintily and sweetly,⁴ but he reproaches him for being a renegade to a foreign cause, and for wasting his fine style on nothing.

The strong realism which breathes in his own verses is

¹ *Contra los encarecimientos de las coplas españolas, que traten de amores.* (Page 156.)

² *Contra los que dejan los metros castellanos y siguen los italianos.* (*Ibid.*)

³ Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, lyric and dramatic author, whose *Propaladia* was published in 1517. It is evident that Castillejo was influenced by his lyrics. Cf. p. 46 note.

⁴ "¿ Los requiebros y primores
Quien los niega de Boscan?

Mas trovada
Una copla muy penada,
El mismo confesará
Que no sabe dònde va,
Ni se funda sobre nada."

unknown to the Italianists and their followers. Castillejo offers his whole life in his poems, his pathos has a true ring, even if it lacks here and there in poetic refinement. The New School sublimated and refined their feelings; they had a definite aesthetic standard, not compatible with the emotions of real, still less of every-day life. If Castillejo had formed a school of any importance, it would very likely have ended in vulgarity and platitude, especially with those who lacked his genius: the New School reached its goal, which was the over-refinement and unnaturalness of *Cultism*.

Castillejo has a very fair command of the new forms. He shows his versatility in a fine sonnet, addressed to the poets who have gone to the place where all the troubadours, once famous in their time, have gathered. The newcomers, changed in appearance from those who had graced the Spanish tongue, were viewed with suspicion, lest they be spies or enemies in disguise.¹

The idea of having a gathering of famous men in some place after their demise (Castillejo is careful not to commit himself as to the nature of the place), is in itself due to Italian, i. e., to Dante's influence. Our poet wishes to punish "this new and strange sect like the one of Luther in Germany"; he compares the poetic innovators to the Anabaptists, because they have again baptized themselves, according to a creed of their own, and call themselves "Petrar-

¹ "Garcilaso y Boscan, siendo llegados
Al lugar donde están los trovadores
Que en esta nuestra lengua y sus primores
Fueron en este siglo señalados.
Los unos á los otros alterados
Se miran, demudadas las colores,
Temiendose que fuesen corredores
O espías, o enemigos desmandados." (Page 157.)

quists." They have forsworn the faith of Castilian poetry, and are running after the Italian, saying that it is richer and more elegant.¹ The defunct bards are cleverly made to quote some of their own lines in the manner of the poem by Garci-Sanchez de Badajoz, and before him in the *Infierno de Amores* of the Marquis of Santillana. Juan de Mena smiles at the pretence of novelty on the part of the newly introduced measures. It was an art not new to him: "A verse of eleven syllables," he said, "ought not to astonish me, as I have composed the like of it myself."²

Pedro de Cáceres y Espinosa, author of a life of Gregorio Sylvestre, and editor of Sylvestre's works, misreads these lines³ when he assumes that Castillejo did not know the difference between an Italian hendecasyllabic and a verse

¹ "Bien se pueden castigar
A cuenta de anabaptis'as,
Pues por ley particular
Se tornan a bautizar,
Y se llaman Petrarquistas.
Han renegado la fé
De las trovas castellanas,
Y tras las italianas
Se pierden, diciendo que
Son mas ricas y galanas."

² Juan de Mena, como oyó
La nueva trova pulida,
Contentamiento mostró,
Como que se sonrió
Como de cosa sabida;
Y dijo: 'Segun la prueba,
Once sillabas por pié,
No hallo causa porqué
Se tenga por cosa nueva,
Pues yo mismo las usé.'

Juan de Mena lived from 1411 to 1456.

³ Cf. foot-note in the *Obras*, page 158. Sylvestre was the most important follower of Castillejo.

in *arte mayor*. Castillejo has used both metres; but he intends Juan de Mena to speak slightly of the new conceits. Jorge Manrique is the next representative of the national style. This shows that Castillejo was not bigoted in regard to earlier imitators. Juan de Mena had been under the influence of Dante just as Jorge Manrique was under that of Petrarch.

It is not only Boscan and Garcilase who are indicted for having betrayed their national traditions; the sonnet entitled *Musas italianas y latinas*, which repeats very happily the flow of Petrarch's stately lines, also names Diego de Mendoza and Luis de Haro. Mendoza's presence in this company is astonishing; first of all, he was not dead; he was younger than Castillejo by nearly fifteen years and lived till 1575. Very likely Castillejo belonged to his retinue during his stay in Venice. He had excelled in the writing of *redondillas*, until his intimate acquaintance with the classics as well as with the great Italian poets caused him to abandon the Castilian metres, and Castillejo seems to have been very sensitive concerning his apostasy. As to Luis de Haro, we find four poems of his in the *Cancionero* reprinted by M. Morel-Fatio;¹ they are fair types of contemporary lyrics, none of them is in the Italian style. The learned editor holds them in small esteem, for he says (pages 495-8): "C'est au plus célèbre adversaire des 'novateurs,' au sympathique Christóbal de Castillejo, que Luis de Haro doit la faible lueur de gloire qui accompagne encore son nom."²

Castillejo was not entirely alone in his fight; Argote de

¹ *Cancionero general de obras nuevas nunca hasta agora impresas assi por el arte española como por la toscana*. Impresso Año MDLIII. (L'Espagne au XVI^{me} et au XVII^{me} siècle.)

² Cf. also Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, traducida por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. Page 213.

Molina,¹ Gregorio Sylvestre, Antonio de Villegas and Francisco de Castillo were his followers, who tried, for a time at least, to uphold the cause of the national measures. Antonio de Villegas, who died in 1551, survived Castillejo only one year. His poems were somewhat stilted in form, and contained, among others, a translation of Pyramus and Thisbe. But while Castillejo's version abounds in delicate and highly poetic touches, and follows on the whole the original pretty closely, Villegas' translation, according to Fitzmaurice-Kelly, recalls the style of "Bottom the Weaver." Gregorio Sylvestre (1520-69), a Portuguese by birth, was really the literary successor of Garci-Sanchez and Torres Naharro; he wrote successfully in the old as well as the new forms. Of Francisco de Castillo nothing is known but a philosophical treatise in poetical form, entitled: *Teorica de Virtudes*. He reminds us of Juan de Mena and Santillana, and is for the most part solemn, often bombastic, while Castillejo, though frequently loquacious and redundant, never fails to relieve the monotony by a touch of satire or an anecdote.

While Italian influence took such irresistible hold on Spanish poetry, Italians showed little liking for the literature, customs or manners of the sister peninsula. The real depth and fervor of the Iberian nature were never fathomed by the lighter vein of the Italians, especially at the time of the

¹ "Los Castellanos y Catalanes guardaron en este composicion cierto numero de pies ligados con cierta ley de consonantes, por la cual ligadura se llamó copla, compostura cierto graciosa, dulce y de agradable facilidad y capaz de todo el ornato que cualquier verso muy grande puede tener, si se les persuadiese esto á los poetas deste tiempo que cada dia van olvidando, por la gravedad y artificio de las rimas italianas, á pesar del bueno De Castillejo, que desto graciosamente se quexa en sus coplas." "Discurso hecho por Gonzalo Argote de Molina sobre la poesia castellana," *Antologia de Poetas Liricos Castellanos*. V, p. 75), edited by M. Menéndez y Pelayo.

Renaissance, when at the various small courts in Italy courtesy and high breeding were developed into a fine art.¹ The empty ceremoniousness of Spanish etiquette was made a matter of ridicule. Italians of clear, unbiased mind, like Guicciardini and Navagiero, while making all due allowance for the Spanish character, express themselves strongly on the shortcomings of country and people.²

Guicciardini left Spain in 1518, Navagiero was there in 1528; both comment on the laziness, ignorance, shiftlessness and poverty of the population; their empty display, their treacherous character, hollow politeness, and their want of appreciation of literature and art.³

It was the general tendency of the Italians to look down upon the Spaniards. Benedetto Varchi (1503-1545) wrote

¹ Cf. Baldassare Castiglione: *Il Cortigiano*.

² *Viajes por España, de Francisco Guicciardini y Andrés de Navajero. Traducidos, anotados, y con una introduccion por Don Antonio Mariá Fabié.* Madrid, 1879. (Libros de antaño.)

³ "La pobreza es grande, y en mi juicio no tanto proviene de la calidad del pais quanto de la indole natural de sus habitantes, opuesta al trabajo, prefieren enviar á otras naciones las primeras materias que su reino produce, para comprarlas después bajo otras formas, como se observa en la lana y en la seda que venden á los extraños para comprarles despues sus paños y sus telas."

"Debe proceder de su pobreza el ser naturalmente miserables, siendo así que, al considerar el lujo que ostentan fuera del reino algunos Grandes, es difícil creer, que los demas vivan con suma estrechez en casa."

"No son aficionados á las letras; y no se encuentra ni entre los nobles, ni en las demas clases conocimiento alguno, ó muy escaso; y son pocas las personas que saben la lengua latina. En la apariencia, y en las demostraciones exteriores son muy religiosos, pero no en realidad; son muy prodigos en ceremonias y las hacen con mucha reverencia, con mucha humildad en palabras y cumplimientos, y besandose las manos, todos son señores suyos, todos pueden mandarles pero son de índole ambigua y hay que fiar poco en sus ofertas. El disimulo es propio de esta gente, en cuyo arte son muy grandes maestros todos los hombres, y lo llevan á la perfeccion. . . ." Guicciardini: *Viajes*, pp. 201-202.

an apology of the Italian language, and placed it on a level with the French and far above the Spanish, praising, however, Jorge Manrique, Juan de Mena and Ausias March. Pontano¹ has a note which might be applied to Castillejo's style. He says that all Spaniards are fond of jokes, but that they prefer a cutting remark to a harmless jest.²

While Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio were freely imitated and rendered into Spanish, we find at first no attempt to change the old Spanish metres. With the exception of Santillana's sonnets, the *arte mayor* and the *redondillas* are employed everywhere. (The former in Juan de Mena's *Labirinto*, the latter in Santillana's *Triunfo de Amor*.)³

If Castillejo had needed a guide in his prosody, he could have found one in Juan del Encina, who tells us that he had completed his work: "xiii día de Febrero 1505."⁴ The whole pith of his treatise may be illustrated by an extract of his fifth chapter:

"We have two kinds of verse in our Castilian tongue. The one contains lines of eight syllables or their equivalent, and

¹ *De Sermone*, I and II. See Benedetto Croce: *Ricerche Ispano-Italiane*. (Napoli, 1898.)

² "Sono amantissimi de facezie, pur se tu guardi aquegli d'essi che apparengono al popolo, vedi che i loro motti piú che in scherzi consistono in detti mordaci. Amano piu le invettive e i morsi che il riso e il diletto."

³ Cf. Arturo Farinelli: *España y su literatura en el extranjero á través de los siglos*. (Conferencia dada en el Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico de Madrid.) Madrid, 1901. Farinelli, *Sulla fortuna del Petrarca in Ispagna*, in *Gior. Stor.* XLIV. Farinelli, *Sulla fortuna del "Corbaccio" nella Spagna medievale*, Halle, 1905. Farinelli, *Dante in Ispagna*, *Gior. Stor.* XLV. Cf. note, p. 105. Benedetto Croce: *La lingua spagnuola in Italia, appunti con un' appendice di A. Farinelli*. Rome, 1895.

⁴ *Arte de la Poesia Castellana*, de Juan del Encina, edited by Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Vol. II, pages 321-41.

is called *arte real*; the other has twelve syllables or their equivalent and is called *arte mayor*. I say 'their equivalent,' because it may happen that they are more or less in number. . . . There are others, called 'broken lines'; they are the half lines of the *arte real*, or they are whole lines in *arte real* inserted between lines in the *arte mayor*. In the former case they consist of four syllables or their equivalent, and are mingled with full length lines. Sometimes five syllables will make the half line, then we say that a syllable is lost. . . . In the *arte mayor* the whole lines are never interspersed by broken ones."

We find only a few instances of *versos de arte mayor* among Castillejo's works; they are of no importance, as to form or subject.¹

Juan Diaz Rengifo, in the first edition of his *Arte poetica española* (Barcelona, 1592), does not mention any *versos de arte mayor*. But in the edition of 1703 we find:

"El verso de arte mayor se compone de dos versos de redondilla menor, que han de las quatro primeras silabas la segunda larga." Don Andrés Bello in his *Prosodia Castellana*² considers the *arte mayor* as amphibrachic, its normal caesura would be feminine; he allows six syllables to each hemistich. A pause after the rhythmic accent of the fifth syllable would exclude almost entirely a slurring from one of the halves to the other. Yet we find examples of synalepha as well as of hiatus. The *redon-*

¹ The following lines may serve as illustration:

"Pues sois homenaje/do quiso el saber
Hacer su morada/teniendo por cierto
Ponerse en lugar/de mas merecer."

(*Al mismo amigo pidiendole consejo*, etc. Page 115.)

² See also: Alfred Morel-Fatio *L'arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XVe et du commencement du XVIe siècle* (Romania, XXIII, p. 90.)

dilla menor equals the hemistich of the *arte mayor*. Let us consider this measure as it occurs in the structure of the *Villancico*:

"La vida se gana ~-/-~-/-~
Perdida por Ana." ~-/-~-/-~

In choosing at random a few lines in *arte mayor* we find that their first hemistichs agree with the given scheme:

"Y algùn/nòs me/jùzgan//por hom/bre sin/tiento." ~-/-~-/-//~-/-~-/-

or, slightly varied:

"Segùn/de mi/mìsmo//yo pue/do juzgar." ~-/-~-/-//~-/-~-/-

Taking other *pies* from *redondillas*, we have the same stresses as shown before:

"Y bién/que mi/rándo ~-/-~-/-~
Buscan su dolor." ~-/-~-/-~

and

"Amór/lison/jéro ~-/-~-/-~
No puede forzaros." ~-/-~-/-~

Both these couplets are really verses in *arte mayor*.

Castillejo is a master of the *arte real*; in the wielding of *redondillas* he displays all the grace of his versatile mind. He has a great variety of rhyme arrangements; in his long dialogues, with the exception of the one between the "Author and his Pen," he uses *quebrados* as regular intervals, without dividing his lines into stanzas; his rhyme scheme, however, is of regular recurrence. In the *Diálogo que habla de las condiciones de las mujeres* the *quebrado* appears in every fifth line, rhyming with the following full *pie* and the fourth in order; the second and third are also consonant.

"Sin razon
 Los haceis, si tales son,
 Pues la ley de amor perfeto
 Nos mande tener secreto
 Lo que está en el corazon."

In the *Diálogo y discurso de la vida de corte* the *quebrado* is omitted when, after the end of a long speech, the reply leads to a new theme (as in the tale of the ambassador). This shows that a *quebrado* is not considered a fit beginning.

The greater part of the love poems is written in *coplas* of ten *pies*, the sixth being generally *quebrado*. This form is called *Decima*; it may, but need not, consist of two halves, called *Quintillas*; this is only possible when each of the two halves has its independent existence, i. e., if the rhyme scheme is completed in five lines. The following is a frequent arrangement of the rhymes: in the first *Quintilla*: *a b b a b*; in the second: *a b a b a*.

"Amor dulce y poderoso
 No te puedo resistir,
 Y acuerdo de me rendir
 • Que defenderme non oso
 Sin obligarme á morir.
 Y pues de nuestra pasion
 Eres absoluto Rey,
 Mi penado corazon,
 Tornado ya de tu ley,
 Sigue tu fé y opinion."

(*Al Amor*. Page 107.)

This scheme may be varied in a number of ways, though rarely more than two sets of rhymes are introduced.¹

¹ Rengifo says: "Es un genero de copla que solamente se usa por ser cantado."

Another popular form in which our poet excels is the *Villancico*.¹

Rengifo evidently knew and admired Castillejo. Every one of the old Castilian measures discussed in the *Arte poetica* can be illustrated by verses from the *Obras*. A few illustrations may find their place here:

Cabeza: a, b, b.	Cabeza:	Vos, Señora en Aragon Y yo en Castilla, Quien habrá de mi mancilla?
Pie: I Mudanza: c. d.	Mud. I	Si vuesamerced se va, Aunque irá con vos mi fé,
II Mudanza: d. c.	Mud. II	Yo, Señora, que haré? Mi corazon quedará
Vuelta: c. b.	Vuelta:	Con la soledad de acá, Pues yo no casso á sufrilla.
Represa: b.	Represa:	Quien habrá de mi mancilla? ²

The rhyme scheme of a *Villancico* in *redondilla menor*, as used by Castillejo, is not mentioned by Rengifo. Yet the famous "Alguna vez," is written in this form:

Cabeza: a, b, b.	Alguna vez Oh pensiamento Seras contento.
Pies: Mudanza I: c. d.	Si Amor cruel Me hace la guerra,

¹ A *Villancico* consists of a *cabeza* and *pies*. The former is a *copla* of two, three or five lines; the *pies*, as a rule, have six each. They serve as a *glosa* to the sentence given in the *cabeza*, which must always be of a pointed and sententious nature (*dichas agudas y sentenciosas*). The lines may be full or broken.

If a *Villancico* contains six *pies*, connected by rhymes, the first pair is called *prima*, the second *secunda mudanza*. The last couplet is called *vuelta*, because it reproduces the arrangement of the first group; the one or two last lines reappear in a *represa*. The rhymes of the *pies* agree with those of the *cabeza*; those of the *vuelta* are the same as the last of the *cabeza*. (Rengifo, Ch. 24 ff.)

² *Villancico de un caballero en una partida de una dama de Burgos para Aragon*. (Page 129.)

Mudanza II: <i>d. c.</i>	Seis pies de tierra Podrán mas que él.	
Vuelta: <i>c. b.</i>	Allí sin él, Y sin tormento	
Represa: <i>b.</i>	Serás contento.	(Page 128.)

What Juan del Encina designates as *Cancion y Copla*¹ is called by Rengifo: "Redondillas en quatro versos, quartillo o quartete." He allows the rhymes of the two extremes and the two means, as well as of alternate lines.²

Scheme I:

"En partiros, clara estrella,
Partióse de mi la luz,
Así que, yendo á la cruz,
Me dejastes puesto en ella."

Scheme II:

"Vos ganastes los perdones
Desta sancta Romeria,
Yo gané cien mil pasiones,
Quedando sin alegría."

Both *quintillas* belong to the same *decima*. (*A una dama que fué en romeria á Sta. Cruz*. Page 112.)

Encina does not mention the *quintilla*, though it is found in profusion; Rengifo, however, furnishes a variety of its *consonancias*. The following occur in Castillejo: *a b a b a*.

"Las ansias que peleo
Nunca las sintió mujer,
Desesperada me veo
Con esperanza de ver
Al revés lo que deseo."

(Glosa to the "*Letra*": *Con esperanza de ver* page 128.)

¹ "Y aun los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies; aunque no ven en consonantes, sino el segundo y el quarto pie." (*Arte de la poesia Castellana*, etc.) (Ch. VII, *De los versos y coplas*.)

² "Consuenen ó los dos de en medio y los dos finales, ó la primera y la tercera, la segunda y la quarta."

or *a b a a b*:

" Por darme conocimiento,
Que todo lo que se espera,
Alcanzado, es como viento.
Fáltome el contentamiento
Al tiempo que mas quisiera."

This forms a *cabeza*. The *pies* are formed by a *decima* divided into two *quintillas*.

I. " Quiso fortuna subirme
 Al cabo de mi querer,
 No por hacerme placer,
 Sino por mayor herirme
 Do mas pudiese doler."

II. The scheme: *a b a a b* is resumed.

" Burlóse mi pensamiento,
Porque al fin de la carrera,
Do pensé quedar contento,
Fáltome el contentamiento
Al tiempo que mas quisiera."

(Glosa, page 127.)

Castillejo has only a single instance of a *sextilla*, a *redondilla* of six lines. It is found, following upon a *quintilla*, in *Mote de una Dama* (page 131), and is the translation of the same poem in Portuguese, the only time that the poet wrote in this language; the last line retains the foreign idiom. The rhymes are arranged: *a a b a a b*.

" Pero visto que se gana
Una pena tan ufana,
Cual es la causa por quien
La misma culpa me sana,
Porque es yerro de do mana
O acertamento tambien."

Setetas or *redondillas* of seven lines occur very frequently. They follow closely the arrangement of the *villan-*

cico, but repeat themselves in strophes; they lack therefore epigrammatic terseness. We find a number of different rhyme orders: *a b a b a c c*.

"Contra mi triste ventura
La razon tanto porfia,
Que en la mas grave tristura
Siento mayor alegria;
Crece mi mal cada dia,
Mas la causa del me suele
Consolar cuando mas duele."

(*Cancion*. Page 130.)

In *redondillas* of eight *pies* we meet either with two *quartillas*, or with the arrangement of the Italian *ottava rima*. Castillejo's stanzas of eight lines are, however, all double *quartillas*.

Coplas of nine verses, which range among the *redondillas mixtas*, are composed of a *quartilla* and a *quintilla*, following the order: *a b b a—c d c c d*.¹

Castillejo uses this form repeatedly; we select as example a letter of reproach to a lady who has told him an untruth.

"Vuestras obras me decian
A vuestro sí no dar fé;
Diesela, pensando que
Los ángeles no mentian.
Si pequé porque os creí,
Harto caro me costó,
Pues ya, desdichado yo,
Me va peor con el sí,
Que me iba con el no."

(*A una que le mintió*. Page 119.)

The *decima* or *copla real* with or without the *quebrado*² is found in a number of poems. The two following may suffice as illustrations:

¹ Rengifo, Ed. 1592, Ch. 26, page 25.

² This *copla* is not mentioned in Rengifo's earlier edition, but is

I. Without the *quebrado*: *a b b a b—c d c d d*.

“Pues falta no la hay en vos,
 Desempeñad vuestra prenda;
 Que esta cifra de contienda
 Mejor me perdone Dios
 Que vuesamerced la entienda.
 Y mirad á que me atrevo,
 Que aunque la echeis en la cama,
 Yo lo consiento y apruebo,
 Tan sin temor de su fama
 Como si fuese una dama.

(*A uno que apostó de sacer una cifra ó hazer una copla.* Page 160.)

With the *quebrado*: *a b a b a—c c (quebrado) d d c*.

“Que buen caballero era
 Perdonele Dios, amen,
 Dejando tal heredera!
 Si antes de escribir muriera,
 Oh como muriera bien!
 Su pensamiento fué vano,
 Aunque sano,
 Si le terciara el estilo,
 Valgale por codicilo,
 Pues lo escribió de su mano.”

(*A una dama á quien un caballero dejó por heredera de su alma y fé en un testamento que hizo.* Page 160.)

In spite of apparent carelessness Castillejo strictly obeys the laws of accentuation and makes but sparing use of the “*licencias y colores*” which Juan del Encina permits.¹

found in the one of Barcelona, 1703. J. D. M. Ford, *Notes on Spanish Prosody*, in the introduction to his *Spanish Anthology* (Silver Series of Modern Language Textbooks, New York, Boston, Chicago) defines the *quintilla* as “a stanza of five verses and only two rhymes, the latter being so distributed that no more than two verses with the same rhymes ever come together.”—The *decima* as “stanza of ten lines, having four rhymes. The usual scheme for rhyme agreement is: 1, 4, 5-2, 3, 6, 7, 10-8, 9.”—Castillejo does not use this arrangement.

¹ *Licencias y colores poéticas*. (Chapter VIII.) “Licencia para acortar y sincopar cualquier parte ó dición. Puede asimesmo corromper y estender el vocable. Puede tambien mudarle el accento.”

Castillejo uses assimilation only in the case of infinitives with following pronoun: *ganalla* for *ganar la*; *vellos* and *veros* for *veer los* or *veer vos*. We also find occasional changes of stress: "Mi alma que pena tiene" contains not only an hiatus, but the word "alma" is to be treated as a spondee. In the line: "Que á quien ventura desecha," the stress falls on the first syllable of "ventura." Great liberty may be taken with the stress accents of the first hemistichs, so that lines like:

"Nunca diciendo verdad."
 "Haber perdido la vida."
 "Le está delante presente."
 "Segun á vos os parece."

are not as faulty as they might appear at first sight.¹

Modern prosodists, Don Andrés Bello as their leader, demand only one stress for each *pié*; this stress must fall on the final clausula, whether the character of the verse is iambic or trochaic, as long as it does not exceed eight syllables. What Encina claims as a *licencia* is therefore simply based on the nature of the verse.²

¹ His conservatism is shown in preferring the harshness of the older forms of combining and slurring final and initial vowels of consecutive words, or the diphthongizing of vowels in the same word (*synalepha* and *synaeresis*), to the more suave blending of vowels introduced by the Italian school. The same can be said of his use of *diaeresis*, though he generally avoids the hiatus.

Lines like:

"El pan bendito que ayer
 Vuesamerced me envió
 Todos mis malos volvió—"

(*A la misma [Ana] con un cierto pan que le envió. Obras, p. III.*) illustrate Professor Federico Hanssen's statement: "Castillejo continuo la antigua práctica empleando la diéresis. En los antiguos romances se halla la sinéresis y la diéresis sin regla ninguna." (*Notas á la prosodia castellana por Federico Hanssen. Publicadas en los anales de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile. 1908.*)

² The same occurs in the Italian trochaic dipody, as it appears in the

Castillejo must have had a knowledge of the rhythmic laws of the Latin language. Martín de Salinas had mentioned his fluent Latinity; and the metric translations of Ovid betray great skill and thorough knowledge of the original. Though not attempting to reproduce the classic metre, Castillejo allows none of the salient points to escape. The three passages he has chosen are taken from the *Metamorphoses*. They are: *Canto de Polifemo* (*Metam.* XIII, 789-869), *Historia de Piramo y Tisbe* (*ibid.*, IV, 55-166), *La Fabula de Acteon* (*ibid.*, III, 138-252 Teubner edition).¹

In the *Canto* the poet has worked out the details very happily. We seem to hear an uncouth, wealthy rustic urging his suit with a village beauty who derides him and his offers. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe is written in *decimas*; Castillejo, as we know, intended it for fifteen-year-old Anna von Schaumburg, and tells the story in a diffuse manner as if he were talking to an intelligent child. With most of his contemporaries the result would have been intolerable. Castillejo, however, has so many happy surprises and his verses run so smoothly, that we follow him not unwillingly. Sometimes he uses a whole stanza where Ovid has two hexameters, but we must make concessions for the greater diffuseness of an analytic language, like Spanish, as compared with the succinctness of Latin.²

short lines of the Canzone; *f. i.* "Pregovi, siate accorti" Ballata II (Canz. 2).—Also: "Parmi qual esser sole—" Canzone XII (Canz. 28) *Il canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca, riveduto nel testo e commentato da S. A. Scartazzini.* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1893).

¹ *Obras*, pages 122, 136, 164.

² The distich in which Ovid describes the dawn of day may serve as an example:

"Postera nocturnos aurora removerat ignes,
Solque pruinosas radiis siccaverit herbas."

The *Fábula de Actéon* on the contrary is considerably shorter than the original. It is also written in *decimas*, but as it was addressed to some great person, probably the king himself, the poet knew better than to weary him with long-winded descriptions.

The most elaborate of Castillejo's translations are two complete orations of Cicero, *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*. Attention to them was first drawn by Ferdinand Wolf.¹

These translations are dedicated to the same notable person to whom the prologue to the *Diálogo del autor y su pluma* is addressed. This dedication is important as it contains Castillejo's views with regard to translating from one language into another, and he expresses very sound principles and thorough insight into the spirit of language. It is clear why treatises like *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* have appealed to him. Old age was at his door and seemed to fill him with dismay; he voiced these sentiments on various occasions.² As to friendship, though he would talk in

The Spanish rendering reads:

"Mas la mañana siguiente
Después que del cielo habia
Quitado el alba del dia
Las lumbres generalmente
De la escura noche y fria,
Y habiendo el sol colorado
Con sus rayos enjugado
Las verdes yerbas heladas,
Y las tinieblas pasadas
De todo el mundo alumbrado." (p. 137.)

¹ *Ueber einige unbekannt gebliebene Werke Cristóbal de Castillejo's. Sitzungsberichte* (Nachtrag) March 31, 1849.

² Cf. *Diálogo del autor y su pluma*.

"Ninguna guarida cierta,
La esperanza casi muerta,
Yo rendido y vos cansada,
Y la vejez á la puerta."

a somewhat skeptical manner about it, it must have brightened his declining years.

Whatever may have been Castillejo's first studies, he was imbued with the elegant learning of his time. He had taste and understanding for literature, and his opposition to the foreign influence on Castilian poetry arose not only from patriotic predilection, but from an insight into the fitness of things concerning idiomatic peculiarities. "It always detracts from the beauty of style," he writes, "when a translation is made from one language into another, however well it may be done. If somebody were to dye silk or colored cloth, the material would remain the same, yet it would lose the best part of its lustre. Thus, at every turn of speech, in every argument, the translator will encounter conceits and phrases, which are very well understood by him, but for which he cannot always find an equivalent. Yet he must be precise and give a clear rendering of his text, to do justice to both languages, that of the original and his own. If he follows the original too closely, there is danger that his style may become forced and unidiomatic; if, on the contrary, he takes too great liberties with the text, he has to sacrifice accuracy and exactness to elegance, though he may not be conscious of it."¹

Castillejo is very fond of displaying his classical learning. Events in ancient history and quotations from the authors are scattered everywhere. But he showed better taste than his predecessors, even the greatest, such as Juan de Mena

¹ It is not improbable that the poet was influenced by the *Diálogo de las lenguas* (more correctly *de la lengua*), ascribed to Juan de Valdés, one of two notable twin brothers, both secretaries of Emperor Charles V and contemporaries of Castillejo. The Dialogue must have been written between 1528 and 1536. See Ticknor, 4th ed., vol. 2, §§ 19-20.

or Santillana, for their works were sometimes not much more than classical dictionaries.¹ Castillejo does not follow these examples; he does not give dry enumerations but pithy touches or anecdotes. He is not always quite reliable, and his various quotations are no proof of very wide reading, but may be reminiscences of his Donatus. Although he never names Suetonius as his source, he brings in the story of Emperor Claudius, who, after he had put to death Messalina, his empress, inquired why she did not appear at table?²

It is impossible to enumerate all the references to ancient history and literature in the *Obras*. We find allusions to: Helen of Troy (*Carta á una dama*), Tantalus (*Contra el amor*), Hercules spinning on the distaff (*Sermon de amores*), King Resus taken alive (*ibid.*), Scipio and Hannibal (*Autor y su pluma*), Marcus Cato (*En alabanza del Palo de las Indias*), the head of the Medusa (*Recado falso de unas monjas*), Porcia, Cato's daughter (*Condiciones de las mujeres*), to Thais, Flora, Sappho, Leontia,

¹ We find in Santillana's *Triunfete de Amor* passages like the following:

"Vi César y vi Pompéo,
Antonio y Octaviano,
Los Centauros y Perséo,
Achiles, Paris troyano."

² *C. Suetonii Tranquilli opera V. Cap. 31 Claudius*. Castillejo has the quotation in a passage of the "Consiliatoria" (page 232).

"Ved que memoria tan fina
La de Claudio, emperador,
Que haviendo por Agripina
Hecho matar con rigor
A su mujer Messalina,
Asentándose otro día,
Según costumbre, á comer,
Sin mirar lo que decia
Preguntó por su mujer
Como otras veces solia."

(*ibid.*), to Phalaris the Tyrant (*Diálogo entre Memoria y Olvido*), to Nero, Seneca, Pallanteus (*Vida de corte*), the sword of Damocles (*ibid.*), Prometheus (*ibid.*), Terence, Epicure (*Consiliatoria*), Galba's fulsome flattery (*Verdad y Lisonja*). In the same dialogue he also relates an interesting, but, to all appearance, apocryphal tale about King Darius, who once gathered his wise men about him and inquired after the most powerful things on earth. He was told that they were: Wine, Regal Power, Woman and Truth.¹ Unfortunately we find no authority for this fascinating tale.

In this same dialogue *Lisonja* says she would rather be Gnatos surveying his small gains, than Plato with all his virtues and elegancies.² This Gnatos is one of the Parasites in the plays of Terence; he has an important part in the *Eunuch*, and was a prominent and popular figure in comedy. Whether Castillejo had really read Terence we are unable to decide.

There are a number of quotations from Holy Writ not only in the *Obras de Devocion*, but in divers connections and different places. Even here Castillejo is not reliable and commits grave errors. He counts Nebuchadnezzar among the prophets (page 346), misreading some passages from the Book of Daniel.³ He also tells about the "Satyr whom Paul saw upon the mountain."⁴ He must have thought of

¹ *Diálogo entre la Verdad y la Lisonja* (page 237).

² "Que mas quiero ser Gnaton
Y andarme tras mis ganancias,
Que todas las elegancias
Y virtudes de Platon."

³ Daniel II: 29; III: 26; IV: 2.

⁴ "Por el satiro os tuvieran
Que vió Paulo en la montaña."
(*Otro recado falso*. Page 172.)

the "Mountain of Temptation" in Judea, where Christ is said to have encountered the Tempter, but a "Satyr" is mentioned in the Old Testament (Isaiah 34:14). The word is supposed to mean "hairy," (like the Latin *hircus* or *hirsutus*, from *hirtus*.) The Septuagint gives the rendering "Demon." Castillejo had evidently studied the Prophets, though not very closely. It is hard to decide whether we have simply to deal with blunders on his part, or with some legends fallen into oblivion. He also talks of dissension among the Apostles about pre-eminence in the Kingdom of Heaven,¹ and of "Job's and David's comforters" (*Querella contra la fortuna*, p. 209); about "Job and Tobias" we read in the *Consolatoria*; the "Peace of Judas" is mentioned in the *Querella*. He refers to the parable of the "Five Talents," and to "Charity as St. Paul preaches it,"² as well as to the "Psalms of David" in the "*Vida de corte*," but he does not hesitate to make Jeroboam the son of Solomon.³

Peter, Paul and Andrew are also mentioned in the dialogue between Flattery and Truth.

Castillejo made his scripture studies most probably from the Vulgate, yet his quotations, for the greater part, seem to be based on memory rather than on a close study of the text. Together with the devotional poems which form the

¹ *Condiciones de las mujeres*:

"Y ocasion
Honestas de disension,
Como sabeis que la hubo
Entre los mismos que tuvo,
Cristo en su conversacion." (Page 191.)

Cf. Luke IX: 46-84; Mark I: 12-13; Matth. XVIII: 1; John XII: 49.

² "La caridad
Como San Pablo predica."

³ "Tu robaste á Roboan,
Hijo del Rey Salomon." (*Verdad y Lisonja*.)

Cf. I Kings XI.

last part of the *Obras*, and which, on the whole, are written in conventional style, an original prayer in Latin prose *Latin y Romance* deserves to be mentioned. It is an invocation to the Virgin, full of deep feeling and simple beauty, as the title shows, it is a mixture of Spanish and Latin.

Castillejo does not incline towards the Epic. We possess only a single poem which is strictly narrative, the humorous tale of a bibulous Biscayan who was changed to a mosquito.² It is not difficult to see that the poem was created under the direct influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for even the details of the transformation, the shrinking of the body, the growing of a proboscis instead of a mouth, of antennae instead of eyebrows, of arms changed to wings, of feet shriveling and bending, are exactly in Ovid's manner.

Though fond of dialogues, and maintaining well the characters of the interlocutors with regard to their respective sides of the argument, Castillejo has no dramatic vein; at least we find no indication among the works known to us that he was able to construct a drama, though he had written a play, the *Comedia de la Costanza*.³

¹ Gallardo: *Ensayo*, II, p. 285.

² *Transformación de un Viciado, gran bebedor de vino*. (Page 178)

³ "Al frente de estos precursores de la comedia de enredo y de la comedia de costumbres, parece que ha de ponerse, como más inmediato en antigüedad á Torres Naharro, el festivo y donosísimo Cristóbal de Castillejo, que tantos puntos de semejanza tuvo con él y que juntamente con él se salvó de la proscripción inquisitorial, aunque la indulgencia que se tuvo con sus versos líricos y satíricos no alcanzase á su farsa *Costanza*, única obra dramática suya de que con certeza hay noticia. La mala suerte se encarnizó después con ella hasta el punto de perderse el original en nuestro mismo siglo. Pero los extractos y noticias de Moratin y Gallardo, que todavía tuvieron la fortuna de leerla en la Biblioteca de El Escorial, y el largo fragmento del *Sermón de Amores* que anda entre las *Obras de Castillejo* bastan para que se comprenda la marcha del poema. . . ." *Estudio pre-*

Unfortunately this is lost entirely; what we know about it at the present moment is due to Gallardo who gives a report of the incidents responsible for the loss of the manuscript. He also reproduces notes on the play, which however do not refer to its contents.¹ Gallardo was the only one who had examined the manuscript—for the *Costanza* had never appeared in print; he had transcribed it, and had been the last in whose possession it was. It had belonged to a volume containing manuscripts of the XV and XVI centuries, and was in its original binding, bearing the coat-of-arms of the Library of the Escorial. The handwriting was not clear, but full of blotches, corrections and interlineations. The Librarian, Pater Peralabas, intended to have a copy made and removed the volume from the library shelves in order to hand it to Gallardo. This happened only a short time before the fatal June 3, 1825, when the sack of Seville took place. Gallardo lost all his books and papers, representing the work of a life time, together with the original as well as the copy of the *Costanza*. As fate would have it, the two manuscripts, with other books belonging to the *Biblioteca de la Corte*, had been carefully packed and removed from Madrid to Seville, the same day that the court took flight. This circumstance was the immediate cause of the loss. Gallardo states that a part of the *Costanza* had been printed before, in Gothic letters, under a different title. Perhaps this statement is the reason for assumptions made by various writers, one

liminar to *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, II, p. cxlvii, edited by D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo. Vol. X of *Libros de Antaño*.

¹ They are given in an article in the *Ensayo* (Vol. II, p. 290 [1670]) which has a Dr. Juan José Bueno for its author. He claims to have heard the story from the lips of D. Bartolomé José Gallardo, "*único entre los literatos españoles que se sepa la [la Costanza] ha descifrado y copiado*".

of them the well-known scholar Ludwig Lemcke,¹ that the play was identical with the *Sermon contre los Amores del Maestro Buen-Talante, Fray Fiél de la Orden de Tristel*.

Of this work there exists another edition, or rather a variant: *Sermon de Amores nuevamente compuesto por el Menor Aunes, á los galanes y damas de la corte.*" These "Sermones" are, in all probability, due to different authors; at all events we have not, at present, any clue to the identity of the fictitious "Menor Aunes," nor do we possess any proof that his sermon was written prior to Castillejo's. Moreover the title: *Fra Nidel del orden de Fristel* indicates that the other *Sermon* is a travesty on Castillejo's.

There are passages in the *Menor Aunes* sermon which contradict the theory of Castillejo's authorship. One of them ridicules the custom of divulging too freely the name of the object of one's affection, as Castillejo himself does to a great extent: "Oh, what an objectionable way of showing your affection, to pin the first letter of your lady's name on your cap!"²

This may have been a fad of the period, a remnant of the age of chivalry; but it is at the same time a want of discretion on the side of the lover.

Another passage contains a silly play on letters, more after the fashion of Juan del Encina than of a polished writer like Castillejo, whose only artificiality was his play

¹ Introduction to Lemcke's *Handbuch der Altspanischen Litteratur*. Leipzig, 1855. Fleischers Verlag.

² "Oh que disforme manera
De querer
Es en la gorra tener
Cualquier hombre
La primera letra del nombre
De la dama."

on colors. But these "Five S" which indicate a perfect lover, are a conceit foreign to his style.¹

Other reasons may be urged against Castillejo's authorship of the *Menor Aunes* sermon; its general want of elegance, its moralizing, unbroken by those flashes of wit and humor which Castillejo has taught us to expect; the irregular occurrence of the *pie quebrado*, which in the poems of the *Obras* always occurs at regular intervals; the use of the Latin conjunction *et* instead of *y*, which is foreign to Castillejo. This observation is not based on the normalized text of the newer editions, but on the manuscripts of the translations from Cicero and the *Dialogo del Autor y su Pluma*, where *y* is used almost without exception.

Castillejo's *Sermon de Amores* begins with an introduction by a Vicar (*Introduccion de un cura*). The parish priest is supposed to introduce the visitant Father; he is called a famous scholar from Florence. Why from Florence?² Surely this name is not given at random. Why does a Spanish preacher come from Italy, and if from Italy, why not from Rome, the place of the Holy See?

¹ It is Juan del Encina, or whoever was the author of the *Mezquino amador*, who tells how the *Sad Knight* placed a *castaña* in the shrine devoted to his dead mistress, because the first syllables form the word *casta*. The following lines (from the Sermon) describe the characteristics of a true lover in five S:

"Los cuales dicen asi
Sin agravio,
Solicito, solo, sabio
Et secreto,
Splendido, muy perfeto
Al amador
Le hacen para el amor."

(See Gallardo: *Ensayo*, Vol. II, p. 281 ff.)

² "Un muy famoso letrado
De Florencia." (Page 142 ff, *Obras*.)

Florence was considered the special abode of culture, literature and philosophy. Moreover, the memory of powerful preaching still clung to it, and as the *Sermon de Amores* was of a somewhat heretical character, the memory of Savonarola, who was burnt in 1498, when Castillejo was a boy of eight or nine years, had perhaps something to do with the home of *Fray Fiél*.

After a short dialogue with the *Cura* the preacher begins the sermon; not like *Menor Aunes* on the text *Crescite et multiplicite*, but on two lines, not taken from the Scriptures, but from *Desprecio de la Fortuna* by Diego de Sanpedro:¹

"Adónde iré y que haré?
Que mal vecino es el amor!"²

The *sermon* is written in easy, flowing *redondilla mayor*, every fifth verse is *quebrado*. It runs through more than seventeen hundred lines, and is full of puns, colloquialisms, proverbs and anecdotes in the style of the Decamerone. When Castillejo felt that his licentiousness had gone a little too far, even for the taste of his time, he screens himself behind Boccaccio: "Segun dice Juan Boccaccio." The "Sermon" and a much later work, the *Diálogo de las condiciones de la mujeres* (page 180) are exponents of the way in which women were treated in the Spanish

¹ Diego de Sanpedro (fl. about 1500) had written a novel: *El Carcel de Amor*, and a prose sermon of the same order as *El Sermon de Amores*. Gallardo (*Ensayo*, II, p. 281) says: "otro tanto le sucedió á Diego de Sanpedro en el sermon en prosa que hizo al mismo proposito." Cf. also Ticknor: *History of Span. Lit.* Sixth ed., §§ 383-385.

² "El sermon se divide en dos partes: el téma es: 'Crescite et multiplicite, et replete terram.' Tiene su introducion y Ave Maria, cuya gracia pide el pio trovador en este: 'Oracion por el Ave Maria,' etc. Gallardo, *Ensayo* II, p. 290. See also note on page 141, *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, Vol. 52.

and Italian literature of the period. They also show Boccaccio's influence on Castillejo.¹ This influence goes hand in hand with that of the two Archpriests, the elder one, Juan Ruiz, of Hita, and the younger, Alfonso Martinez, of Talavera.

Abuse of women sets in as a reaction after the exaggerated worship during the period of the Troubadours. The first example of indiscriminate abuse of women is found in a special chapter of the *Coplas del Provincial*, an anonymous satire, dating from the latter half of the fifteenth century; abuse of women fills almost exclusively the lighter literature for more than a hundred years.

Starting with Eve in Paradise, through the Old Testament and through the whole length and breadth of mythology and history, female characters are held up to scorn. The detractors had to stop short at a group of holy women in the New Testament, and at the women saints, yet they did not spare the female followers of saints on earth. The nuns (justice commands us to admit, the monks as well) came in for a large share of opprobrium. Our poet does not form an exception to the rule; while he exhausts the refinement of flattery to do homage to the individual, he does not hesitate to gibbet the sex.

The *Diálogo de las condiciones de las mujeres* is carried on by two men, an older and more experienced one, and an enthusiastic youth; it reminds us of

¹ See also: C. D. Bourland, *Boccaccio and the Decamerone in Castilian and Catalan Literature* (Revue hispanique, Vol. XII, 1905). The authoress however does not mention Castillejo among the Castilian poets. Further: *Note sulla fortuna del Corbaccio nella Spagna medievale*. Arturo Farinelli, (*Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie. Festgabe für Adolf Mussafia*. Halle, 1905.) But here likewise, though Farinelli incidentally mentions Jorge Manrique and Diego de San Pedro, there is no allusion to the *Diálogo de las condiciones de las mujères*.

the *Diálogo de la vida de corte*. Here too the names are symbolical: *Aletio* seems the embodiment of bitter truth, while *Fileno* is the friend and defender of women. Among his speeches we find passages which belong to the finest ever written in praise of women. The conversation ends in a draw, though we read between the lines that the old *Advocatus Diaboli* is not prepared to yield. He suggests prudently at the end: "But as I have some business on hand, and as it is getting late, let us defer the discussion till after dinner."¹

Castillejo's praise and abuse of women are directly traceable to Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, and *Il Corbaccio*. In its Spanish rendering it is called *El Corbacho*, "que trata de vicios y virtudes y reprouacion del loco amor," Seville, 1495.² Written by a lewd priest, Alfonso Martinez, of Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera, its influence on the literature of the period surpasses its deserts.³

The *Corbacho* was followed by a poem in a similar vein, entitled: *Maldecir de mujeres*, by Pedro de Torellas.⁴ Both works created wild indignation, and "At the request

¹ "Pero tengo que hacer
Agora, y es tarde ya;
Quedese, si os placirá
Para después de comer."
(Page 205.)

² See Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 1893.

³ These two works, *De Claris Mulieribus* and the *Corbacho* are discussed by M. Menéndez Pelayo: *Antología de Poetas Liricos Castellanos* (Tomo 5, p. XV) who says: "Los dos opuestos libros del escritor de Certalúo en loor y en vituperio del sexo femenino, tienen larguísima progenie que alcanza desde el *Libro de las virtuosas et claras mujeres* de D. Alvaro de Luna, hasta el celeitoso y regocijado *Corbacho*, del Arcipreste de Talavera, *que fabla de los vicios de las malas mujeres et de las complisiones de los homes*."

⁴ Printed in *Canc. gen.*, Vol. I, p. 381, and in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, col. 549. See Amador de los Rios, *Historia critica*, VI, p. 476 ff.

of some ladies," Hernan Mexia wrote a reply in defence of women.

Nor did Castillejo's dialogue remain unchallenged. Juan de Espinosa wrote a reply to it (Milan, 1580), entitled *Diálogo en laude de las mujeres*.¹

This work, as well as the *Sermon de Amores*, were the occasion of Castillejo's being placed on the Index of the Holy Office, and of the Inquisition's expurgating the *Obras*.

All sorts and condition of women pass muster before the criticism of the cynical judge: Wives, Maidens, Nuns, Widows, Single Women, Go-betweens. It seems that their disreputable trade was considered perfectly legitimate.²

Fileno indeed has warm words of praise, but somehow the general feeling of the dialogue is against and not for women, and when we read Aletio's attacks on nuns, we cannot wonder at the prohibition by the Santo Officio.³

Castillejo may be called the direct heir of another poet, of similar tendencies as the Archpriest of Talavera, but infinitely more important, of wider range of humor, of perhaps still greater wantonness, and of bold originality; the

¹ See note to the *Diálogo* in the *Obras*.

² D. Antonio de Guevara, mentioned in the *Diálogo de la Vida de Corte*, in the enumeration of a courtier's daily and onerous duties also mentions: "Hablar con alcahuetes." *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*. (Ch. 9.)

³ There are only very few editions that contain the obnoxious passages. Luckily, in the most accessible edition, in the Bib. de Aut. Esp., the prohibited chapters are given in full. In a note accompanying the text we learn that the unexpurgated editions are those of Alcalá and Venice. The Alcalá edition, according to Gallardo, is probably the one of 1616; it was issued by Andrés Sanchez de Espeleta. The Venice edition is mentioned in the *Ensayo* under the heading of *Libros de caballerias*. It is in the same *Proceso de Cartas de Amores*, and a letter by Blasco de Garay and bears the title: *Un diálogo muy sabroso que habla de las mujeres. Todo con diligencia nuevamente corregida*. Venice, Gabriel Giolito de Ferrarias, y sus hermanos. 1553.

inimitable Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita. He lived between 1300 and 1350, and was a contemporary of Don Juan Manuel. His works are a delightful alternation of ribaldry and devotion; the latter probably during the frequent intervals he spent in prison where he had time for repentance. That his *Libro de buen Amor* was of vast influence on Castillejo is asserted by an eminent authority,¹ and we have moreover direct evidence in at least two striking conceits which Castillejo has borrowed from the *Libro de buen Amor*. The first is a poem, *A un Hermafrodito* (page 163). It is a story of contradictory prophecies, all concerning one individual. By a strange and fatal coincidence, they are all realized.² The Archpriest, in "Judgment of five wise men at the birth of King Alcares' son"³ receives from each a different answer concerning the infant's future fate. In Castillejo the child's

¹ "La influencia del Arcipreste ha sido mayor en los grandes monumentos de la prosa castellana que en los poetas, por más que algo de su inspiración satírica reviva en Bartolomé de Torres Naharro y en Cristóbal de Castillejo." Menéndez y Pelayo: *Liricos Castellanos*. Vol. II, p. CXIII.

² We meet with the same conceit in the Merlin legends. A knight belonging to the followers of King Uterpendragon gives vent to his hostile feelings against Merlin by testing his supernatural powers, with the view of showing the fallacy of the prophecies. The knight presents himself in various guises and at different places, but he cannot discomfit the wise man whose apparently contradictory predictions are fulfilled in about the same manner as described in Castillejo's poem. Romance of Merlin. (Gaston Paris et Jacob Ulrich, *Prose du XIII^e siècle. Société des anciens textes français*. Paris, 1886), reprinted in Paget-Toynbee; *Specimens of Old French*. No. LI. (Oxford, Clarendon Press). Also: *I due primi libri dell'a historia di Merlino, ristampati secondo la rarissima edizione del 1480, per cura di Giacomo Ulrich*. (Bologna, 1884, p. 165.)

³ *Del juicio del hora quando sabios naturales dieron en el nacimiento del fijo del Rey Alcares*. (IX, quatrains 129-139.) Bibl. de Aut. Esp., Vol. 57, p. 231.

mother consults Phebus, Mars and Juno about the sex of the babe she is about to bear. Phebus said it would be a man, Mars a woman, Juno, none of the two, and it was born a hermaphrodite: thus all three predictions were realized. As to its death, it was foretold that it would die by arms, would be crucified and drowned.¹ All this is to be verified—as in the case of King Alcares' son—by a strange and unfortunate fate.²

In the chapter treating of "The Sin of Licentiousness" (*Aquí habla del pecado de la luxuria*) the Archpriest tells in full the medieval story of Virgil and the Emperor's Daughter.³ "How the woman deceived him when she caught him in the chest."

Castillejo, in the *Sermon de Amores*, has: "It must have been pleasant for Virgil inside the basket."⁴

¹ "La diosa" says:

"Que con armas moriria
Y mas (!) dijo, que seria
Muerto de cruz espantosa.
Febo dijo: En agua espera
Acabar su triste vida."

"Mas" must be a misprint, or a misreading of the MS. "Mars" is the most natural reading; why should Juno give two contradictory verdicts? The responses as to the child's death ought to balance those about its birth, where Mars is the second to give his decision.

² The hermaphrodite passed under a tree which overhung a stream. He caught his foot and in falling got entangled with his sword. He was plunged headlong into the river, his feet being caught by the branches of the tree and his sword piercing his heart in the violence of his fall. Thus the threefold prediction was verified.

³ *El libro de buen amor*. Quat. 268 ff. "Engañóle la dueña cuando lo colgó en el cesto." Cf. Domenico Comparetti: *Virgil in the Middle Ages*. Translated by E. F. M. Beneke. Macmillan: London, New York. Part II, ch. 8.

⁴ "Donoso debiere estar
Vergilio dentro el cesto." (Page 153.)

The poet's popular tendency is rightly appreciated by Doña Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in her introduction to the *Cancioneiro de Ajuda*:

"As to popular wedding songs (*bodas*) a few are given by Gil Vicente, admirable and profuse in his reproduction of folklore and remnants of archaic poetry. He has roundelays, local ditties and songs for young people, challenging each other in groups of three each. A still more characteristic example is found in Castillejo; his poems are of the old school, and he is so thoroughly national that he does not need any praise. In two of his poems he introduces a chorus of peasant girls who celebrate St. James's day, a 'boda de Mai' a wedding of May and Love. The young people sing some archaic *Coplas* in honor of the newly married couple, verses resembling Gil Vicente's, composed of questions and answers in alternate stanzas and with changing rhymes."¹

Not only in the *Boda* put in the mouth of a rustic beauty who dances "con gran primor" on the day of "Santjago," but also in the *Glosa de las vacas* (p. 129), Castillejo gives either a happy imitation, or reproduces the folk song itself. In the wedding song:

"Aqui no hay
Sino ver y desear:
Aqui no veo
Sino morir con deseo."²

we have the old *Baileta* or dancing song. In the *Glosa de las vacas* Castillejo has seized upon a popular theme and

¹ *Cancioneiro de Ajuda*. Edicao critica y commentata por Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos. Vol. II, p. 58. See also, p. 850 ff.

² *A un amigo suyo, pidiendole consejo en unos amores aldeanos* (page 114).

treats it in his own manner; it is a short pastoral that he may have heard in the fields.¹

He gives a new rendering of a number of well-known conceits. In the tale of the Biscayan and Andalusian² we meet an old acquaintance from the animal fables. Both men went on a voyage, suffered shipwreck and were driven to an unknown and inhospitable shore. Among its fierce and hostile inhabitants the Andalusian saves himself through judicious flattery, while the Vizcaino—always the laughing-stock for the sons of other provinces, incurs the death penalty in return for his uncouth way of telling the truth.³

In one instance our poet seems to have indirectly influenced German comedy. In the *Diálogo que habla de las condiciones de las mujeres* he relates the anecdote of a wife who appeared sick unto death and apparently tried in vain all kind of remedies, until her guileless husband got her a beautiful gown of silk and velvet embroidered with pearls. In a forgotten little one-act comedy by Gellert, *Die kranke Frau*, written before 1745, we find the identical story, at times even the very words used by Castillejo. This is surprising, as we know beyond all doubt that honest Gellert did not know Spanish. But his life fell in a period (1715-1769), when German literature was only partly emancipated from French

¹ Gallardo, Vol. II, p. 288, gives a variant of the *Glosa*,

"Guardame las vacas
Carillo, y besarte hé,
Si no, bésame tú á mí
Que yo te las guardaré"

the theme, however, is identical with the one used by Castillejo.

² *Diálogo entre la verdad y la lisonja*. P. 213.

³ Cf. *Reinke de vos und satirisch-didaktische Dichtung, herausgegeben von Dr. Eugen Wolf*. D. N. L., vol. 19, ch. III, p. 183: *We Reynke sprickt von den meerapen efte meerkatten, wo he met deme wulve mankt de quam*.

influence, and Gellert for one followed the beaten tracks. He was a direct heir to Destouche, the father of the "Comedy of Characters,"¹ and the somewhat later Nivelle de la Chaussée,² who introduced the *comédie larmoyante*. Whether Castillejo and the unknown French author who inspired Gellert drew from the same source, or whether the tale entered into French literature from the Spanish, we cannot tell; but we have the identical story from two sources separated by time and nationality.

Perhaps it is due to the same French transition that we find in Goethe's and Heine's lyrics reminiscences of Castillejo.³ Castillejo's language is the most popular and col-

¹ Philippe Héricourt, dit Destouche 1689-1774, a native of Tours, became secretary to Mr. Puys'eux, French ambassador to the Swiss Republic. From 1717-1723 he was in London. He tried to imitate La Bruyère and Boileau, and to introduce plays based entirely on the development of character. He endeavored to make lay sermons of his comedies, and especially to banish the coarse realism of Molière's successors.

² Nivelle de la Chaussée (1698-1754), born in Paris, distinguished himself first by a criticism of Lamot'e's Fables, anonymously published. He became a victim of "Law's System", the French variety of the English "South Sea Bubble", and was financially ruined. Later he belonged to the circle of the Comte de Civry, Comte de Clermont and Mlle. Quinault, who must have been the second daughter of the famous actor, Quinault père (d. 1736). She retired from the stage in 1722, and died 1798, nearly a hundred years old. His first play, *La fausse antipathie* was acted in 1733, followed by *Le préjugé à la mode* (1753), which retained a few comic elements. *Mélanide*, *La gouvernante* and *L'homme de fortune* (acted on the theater of Mme. de Pompadour), belong entirely to the *comédies larmoyantes*.

³ See: *Littérature espagnole par James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Traduction de Henri D. Davray*, Paris, 1904, p. 162. "Malgré sa défaite Castillejo trouve toujours ses admirateurs . . . il s'imposa a Chapelain, il fut imité par Sarrasin, Bertaut et Voiture; et il mérite son succès, puisque ce vrai poète représente avec éclat une école poétique qui a le goût du terroir espagnol, école que trois siècles de mode prédominante n'ont pu détruire." This statement, however, must be taken with due reserve. M. Morel-Fatio, in his article *L'Espagne en France—com-*

loquial of all Spanish poets, not excepting even Torres Naharro; at the same time he likes to display his Latin, and inserts Latin epigrams in his poems.¹ After the manner

ment la France a connu et compris l'Espagne depuis le moyen âge jusqu'à nos jours, in *Études, sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1888) does not refer to any influence exercised by Castillejo, of whom, however, he quotes a long passage. (Dedication of the poem *El autor y su pluma*, p. 24). Of the poets mentioned here not much is known; they graced the circle of the Hôtel Rambouillet and adhere to the style of the *Précieux*. Jean Chapelin (1595-1674) first became known as the translator of *Guzman de Alfarache*; he wrote an introduction to Marino's *Adone*, and a *Pucelle* in 24 cantos; if Castillejo influenced him it could be only through Marino. Vincent Voiure (1598-1648), son of an Amiens wine merchant, protégé of the Duc d'Orleans, in whose household he held an office, of the Comte d'Avaux and the Cardinal de la Valette, gained through their influence entrance in the charmed circle. Morel-Fatio (*ibid.*) thinks that the famous exile Antonio Pérez, Philip II's unfortunate secretary, who maintained a precarious living by writing witty begging letters to the grandees of the French court, may have influenced Voiure whose talents were frittered away in his efforts to please the "inner circle", and in whose poems occur innumerable obscure allusions, incomprehensible to the outsider, so that here the influence of some of Castillejo's works, like the *Fiesta de las chamarras* may be found. Jean François de Sarrasin (1604-1655) is now so far forgotten that few histories of French literature mention his name. In his trifling verses addressed to the *Précieuses* and *Précieux*, though not devoid of talent, he lacks entirely any serious purpose. He followed the Spanish poet, casting a cloak of easy bantering verse about little every-day affairs. If Sarrasin had devoted himself to more serious pursuits he might have gained distinction as a prose writer, for his *Conspiration de Wallenstein* (1654) does not lack merit. Of somewhat greater importance is "le sage" Jean Bertaut (1554-1611). Like Sarrasin he was born in Caen, became a Counsellor under Henri III, and under Henri IV Grand Almoner to the Queen. He died Bishop of Séez. In his little hyper-sentimental quatrains and couplets he may have been influenced by Castillejo. In 1659 Bertaut traveled in Spain and paid a visit to Calderon, who, he says, appeared ignorant of the rules of the drama. (Morel-Fatio: *L'Espagne en France*, p. 53.)

¹ "Quid levius vento? fulmen;
quid fulmine? flamma;
quid flamma? mulier;
quid muliere? nihil." (*Contra el amor*, p. 141.)

of his time he greatly indulges in plays with words and letters. They are scattered all through his works, together with bold antitheses which sometimes border on the irreverent.¹ Daily life, fashion, health and pleasure resorts, ailments and their treatment, the manner of traveling, a life now of poverty, now of affluence—all these are referred to in the *Obras*.²

He does not quote his authority for these lines. A further confirmation of his fondness for popular expressions is given by Thomas Ximenes de Embun y Val in: *La lengua española en el siglo de oro* (Zaragosa, 1897), which contains a *catálogo de hispanismos, locuciones, y giros gramaticales, tomados de las obras de algunos clásicos*. The author enumerates fifty colloquialisms found in Castillejo against twenty-two in Torres Naharro, seven in Boscan and only five in Garcilaso.

¹ Puns like:

"No alegueis por 'leonado'
Habeis perdido el 'leon'
Y quedastes en la 'nada'.

(*Fiesta de las chamarras*, p. 161.) . .

are too abundant to be quoted. We find "Nunca hileis sino lana" (*A una beata moza, enviandole una rueca*, p. 165), "llamar el negro Juan Blanco" (*A la cortesía*, p. 235), "Porque en muy bien se diga, mas no se siente, el laso", and "tanto en hora buena" (enhorabuena meaning "congratulations": both from *Enhorabuena del desposorio de Don Pedro Laso de Castilla*, p. 189), "Que in cosa cabe no hay cabe" (*Condiciones de las mujeres*, inc. p. 189). In this work especially the poet resorts to all sorts of familiar terms, "como el pueblo suele fablar á su veçino", although he adds occasionally a little Latin: "Romano vivito more". (*Diálogo de las condiciones de las mujeres*.) He says: "Pregonando la feria segun ganastes en ella", "llamar el negro moreno", "—una golondrina no hace verano", "Al hambre no hay mal pan", "la mancilla de la mora con mora verde se quita". In *El autor y su pluma* we have "dejar en cueros" and "las muchas cuentas y sumas y cartas de gran cuento". A pun on *Castillejo* and *castillo*, and the complaint that he was left in a "smothered mate" (mate ahogado), and that his game was bad from the start, (mal entablado) occur in *Querella contra Fortuna*, p. 209.)

² The two *Libreas*, *Condiciones de las mujeres*, *Vida de corte*, *Transfiguracion de un Vizcaino*, *Alabanza del palo de las Indias*, *Estando*

It would not be difficult to reconstruct the life of the period in many details by studying Castillejo's *Trovas*.

The last part of the *Obras* contains devotional poetry which is, like most of the period, merely conventional, and vastly inferior to the poet's secular works. In liveliness of diction and poetic interest he is far superior to most of the religious writers of his time.¹ It appears that the majority of the poems owe their origin to outside suggestions. *La visitacion de Santa Isabel* and *La invencion de la cruz* bear the superscriptions: "á instancia de una señora." Even where he appears most serious Castillejo retains his peculiarities. He cannot omit a pun on the trite subject of *Eva* and *Ave*² or the heaping of metaphors, as in the *Torre de viento*, so in *Cancion á nuestra Señora viniendo en la mar* (p. 246) where he likens keel, masts, prow and sails to senses, desires, faith and reason.

We may safely assume that neither Castillejo's *Obras de devocion*, nor his ecclesiastical position represent his true attitude toward religion. How and why the clerical career was chosen by young noblemen, he himself tells in the *Diálogo de la vida de corte*:

"Y por via
De la iglesia no saria
Mal librado de partido,
Si de cualquier canongia
pudiese ser proveido." (P. 215.)

We may take for granted that he was rigorous in his outward observances; about his real feelings he hardly

en los baños, Comparacion entre las Huelgas de Burgos y Belen de Valladolid.

¹ Cf. the dry, chronicle-like rendering of the versified gospel stories by Mossen Juan Tallante (*Cancionero general*).

² *Himno á nuestra Señora*, p. 246.

chooses to give any disclosure. Nor does he frequently touch on death, and where he does—it is more like a pagan philosopher than a devout Catholic. Once, in *Vida buena y descansada*, he unrolls before our eyes his ideal of a pure, temperate life, free from sordid cares, neither fearing death, nor wishing for it:

“Y que la muerte que créas,
En tanto que no la véas,
Porque no te dé postreñas,
En ningún tiempo la temas,
Ni tampoco la desées.” (P. 173.)

On the great question of the life hereafter he enters only once, in the *Villancico*:

“Alguna vez
Oh pensamiento
Seras contento—” (P. 129.)

The following lines, in their simplicity and pathos, may serve as a fitting epitaph to a life full of unrequited longings, thwarted aspirations, and stern, disillusioning trial:

“Lo no alcanzado
En esta vida,
Ella perdida
Sera hallado.
Que sin cuidado
Del mal que siento
Seras contento.”

APPENDIX.

I.

Priv. Ferd. I

L're secretariatus & provisionis pro Chrophoro (sic!) Castileio.

Ferdinandus etc. quum animadverteremus conueniens & perque opportunus esse Principi in domesticos familiares presertim eius ardua negotia resque privatas tractaturos eos viros assumi in quibus syncera fidelitas ingenij vigor rerumque gerendarum dexteritas & diligentia ac industria conspiciantur, hosque fidelis nobis dilecti Chrophori Castilleio morum probitatem ingenij acumen rerumque gerendarum peritiam sedulamque fidelitatem solertemque diligentiam in multis nostris negotijs per eum cognoverimus ut in solita sua fidelitate ac sedulitate erga nostrum servitium non solum perseveraret verum de iure vel consuetudine, vel quomodo libet alias poterit in futurum, nec non cum voluntate & consensu Magnifici fidelis sincerique nobis delecti Gabrielis de Salamanca, Comitis Ortemberg liberi Baronis in Greyenstain & Karls-pach supremique Consiliarij de Thesaurarij nostri qualis et praecipue in eius absentia quascumque l'ras n'ras cuiuscumque qualitatis fuerint ad nos subscribendas deferre ac demum (ut secretariorum moris est) ille fideliter subscribere et expedire: ac quaecumque consilia n'ra libere tanquam legitimus (sic) nr. secretarius ingredi ibique l'ras & supplicationes legere, decretaque consilij signare, ac omnia alia et singula facere, ferere, et exercere quae ad huiusmodi secretariatus officium pertinent seu quoquemodo spectant; nec non ingenij sui dexteritatisque comodiora et utiliora nobis fore viderit procurarit et consularit, damna et incomoda n'ra semper avertendo qualicumque impedimento cessante, ut nobis coram

promisit et narravit et eidem pro interventione sua provisionem duorum equorum ad rationem ac decem florenos Rhene. pro quolibet equo singulis mensibus ac annuam pensionem centum aliorum similium Rhene, florens leuandas, exigendas recuperandas per ipsum de comisione & mandato praefati Comitum nostrorum familiarum superintendente ac thesaurario n'ro quali a fidei nobis dilecto Joannes Lobl n'ro pecuniarum magistro uel abatijs qui pro tempore fuerint n'ri Magistri pecuniarum & per has n'rs potentes l'ras precipimus et districte mandamus praefato comiti ut expresse comitat et decernat dicto Joannis Lobl vel cuicumque pro tempore fuerit n'r mag'r pecuniarum, ut de provisione dictorum duorum equorum ad r'onem decem florenos Rhenen. pro quolibet equo singulis mensibus et annus pensione centum alienum florenos Rhenen. supra dictorum dicto Chrophoro Castillejo una vel pluribus sollutionibus singulis annis integro satisfaciant numerando sexto die huius praesentis mensis qua ad nr'm seruitium venit usque tum ad bene placitum nr'm ac aliam n'ram revocationem. Hoc eum per presentes precipimus & mandamus eis vel eorum computum recipi & defalcari totum ideo quidquid de predictis provisionibus et pensionibus dicto Chrophoro legitime soluerint, acceptis suis quictantijs et cyrographijs. Quocirca mandamus expresse omnibus & singulis officialibus, aulicis & subditis n'rs cuiuscunque gradus et conditionis existant ut praefatum Chrophorum Castillejo pro ordinario n'ro secretario recipiant habeant et teneant; ipsumque honorifice ac decentur tractent nec non omnibus et singulis gracijs pre-eminentijs libertatibus exemptionibus honoribus emolumentis utilitatibus (ut praefertur) dictum secretariatus officium quomodo libet concernentibus absque aliqua contradictione uti frui potiri et gaudere permittant & ab alijs permitti faciant & ni eo n'ram et ipsius auctoritatem advertant quantum grandem n'ram charam (?) sibi exestimant et penam eis pro arbitrio n'ro imponendam maluerint. In quo facient n'ram expressam voluntatem. Haec testimonio Erass. Daij Tubing. Die xxx Septembris anno Dom. MDXXV.

II.

Augustus 1536.

(Four other Presentations on the same folio.)

Presentatio Christophori de Castillegio, consiliarij et Secretarij Regij ad Preposituram Collegiatae Ecclesiae Ardeacen¹ vacuae per obitum Joannes Buessi ultimi possessoris, Directij Administratoris Pateniensis.

III.

Consensus in resignationem Prepositurae Eccliae. Ardeacen pro Chrophoro de Castillejo.

Ferdinandus etc. Recognitum et notum facimus tenore presentium universis etc. cum honorabilis denotus fidelis nobis dilectus Chrophoris de Castillejo Consiliarius et Secretarius noster sicuti nobis exposuit Preposituram Collegiate Ecclie. Ardeacen Patan Dioc. quam pacifice obtineat, cuius jus patronatus seu presentandi ad nos tanquam Archiducem Austriae plene spectare dignoscitur. Honesto nobis denoto dilecto Stephano Almiger dictae collegiatae ecclae. canonico vel alicui altri digno et probo viro nostro accedente consensu resignare intendat. Nos eiusdem Chrophori de Castillejo humili petitione ac fidelibus gratis et utilibus servitijs quae nobis per multos jam annos prestiti, et ad huc prestare.

IV.

Expectativa pro Christophoro Castilegio.

Ferdinandus etc, Recognitum et notum facimus tenore preattentis diuturnis fidelibusque et assiduis servitiis quae honorabilis, fidelis, nobis dilectus Chrophoro de Castillegio (sic!) praepositus Ardeacen, Consiliarius noster et Secretarius, nobis aliquamdiu in Hispania, ac deinde, ab eo tempore quo ex Hispaniis ad Germaniam trajecimus, ac Archiducatus nostri

¹ Ardegge in Diocese Passau.

Austriæ gubernacula suscepimus, non minus utilia commo-
daque, in nobis grata, magna cum animi nostri satisfactione in
hunc usque diem, curiæ nostræ continue inherendo, indefesse
praestitit, nec non consideratione egregiis et praeclaris animi
sui dotibus quibus tum eruditione ex ingenii dexteritate cum
vigilantia et accurato veris gerendaris studio sua nobis dein-
ceps opera frugifere impendere potest et debet, perpendentes
etiam regia munificentia nihil magis esse dignum quam ut
bene de se ac republica meritos viros decentibusque premiis
muneribusque prosequatur, virtutesque ipsasque praeclara
aliqua cum gracia testetur et coretur.—Nos itaque in
praefatum Christophorum de Castillegio gratiae et muni-
ficientiae nostrae munus conferre volentes, eundem expec-
tantem ad unius vel pluris tam curatae quam simpliciae bene-
ficia ecclesiastica, etiamsi praelaturae aut dignitates majores
vel minores, fuerint ad quas tamen acceptandas ipse habilis sit
de collatione nostra existent, quae per decessum, vel alio
quovis modo, primo et immediate in regno nostro Hungariae,
vel Bohemiae, vel inferioribus provinciis Archiducatus nostri
Austriæ vocare contigerit, miliaque altera a nobis antea pro-
missa aut inscripta fuerint de quo ut quibus circiter quingentos
aut sexingentos Floren: Rhen: in singulis annis percipere
possit, nominavimus et deputavimus, pro ut ex certa scientia
nostra per praesentes eunde nominamus et deputamus, ac
etiam pro firmiori securitate sua ad idem vel eadem beneficia
ecclesiastica ex nunc, prout ex tunc, et ex tunc prout ex nunc
praesentamus, et pro praesentata habere volumus, intendimus
itaque ante omnes et singulos, si qui forsitan similes aut alias
litteras¹ ad hoc obtinuissent vel in postero per inadvertentia
aut quovis alio modo obtinere possent, admitti et praesentari
debeat, sic tum ut cum praefatus Christophorus sacerdotio
eiusmodo fruatur, clerici officiis respondeat.

Haec testimonio etc.

Datum Praga, Die xxviii mensis Januarii mdxxxviii.

¹ The original has: "letras."

V.

Privilegia Ferdinandi I Regis, de anno 1530 usque 1547.
 Consiliariatus pro D. Chrophoro Castillejo.

Ferdinandus etc.—Cum deceat optimum quemque principem eorum opera in rebus agentis uti quoque fides et industria ingenijque dexteritas ac diligentia et sedulitas multis modis est perfecta, eosque ita probatos ampliori gradu reddere conspicuos quo ipsi alacriores officia fidelissime servitutis exiguant, et ceteris animum et similia praestanda incendant. Repetentes ideo nobiscum apertissima Christophori fidei et perpetuae constantiae tuae testimonia, tuamque operam et industriam, ut jam olim probata, sic etiam nobis in postrero usui fore, et ob id cupiamus te clariori titulo et honore exornare, quo in hac tua erga nos animi promptitudine consistas ceterisque exemplo sis, et sit nobis virtus et probitas et honor viri atque eruditio commendata. Te itaque, praefate Chrophore animo deliberato et ex certa nostra scientia consiliarium nostrum fecimus etc.—Ita quod consilia nostra ingredi valeas, dummodo tum es quae meliora etc. decernes etc. . . . Quo vero ad servitia nostra diligentius attendere, et quae tibi nostra nova obeunda iniunxerimus commodius efficere et peragere valeas.

Constituimus et ordinamus tibi salariam et stipendium honestum quale solet ceteris Consiliarijs nostris dari. Mandantes idcirco universis et singulis nj. Harj. testio eius appenso. Datum Pragae, xxv July 1534.¹

VI.

1525-26.

Offner Beuelh Cristophoro Castilegio sein Liforgeld vnd Provision zu reichen.

Wir Ferdinand etc. Ennbieten Vnnserem getreuen lieben

¹ The abbreviations occur in the originals and lead up to stock phrases of Chancery Latin with which everyone who would have official recourse to these documents is thoroughly familiar.

Hannsen Tobli und gegenwärtigen rendaman Jeden h. gunstigen vnnsern Pfenningmeister, Vnnser gnad und alles gut. Wir haben vnnsern getreuen lieben Cristophoro Castilegio zu vnnsern hispanischen Secretarii mit zweien Pferdten, bis auf vnnser wolgefallen aufgenommen vnd bestellt, vnd iheme alls Jar, dieweil Er Vns alsz an vnnseren Dinst alls aignet auf jedes Pferd Zehen Gulden Rh. für vnnnder Haltung und Livergelt vndt darzur des jars 1 C. gold provision, das ist in ainen Jare II C vnd XX Gulden Rh., durch Euch zu quattenberzeitten zu bezalen, bestimbt vnd bewilligt, Inhalt vnsers bestelbriefs so Jme darunter ausgewirht, und anemphelhen Euch demnach amtlich das er dem gedachten vnsern Secretari nun hinfüro alle Jar dieweill Er vnns also an unserm Hof dint, bis auf vnser wolgefallen, solich abgeschriben II C und XX Gulden Rh. fur livergeld, vnderhaltung und Provision zu Quartember zeiten von vnnsertwegen ausrichtet und bezalet, und mit der ersten bezalung zu zu der nächstkünftigen quatterember von heut. dato dises Briefes anzuraitten [rechnen] anfanet, und wir euch gewalt also geben werden, derhalb soll euch auf diszen vnsern bevelh vnd sein gebürlich quittungen in euer Raittungen (Rechnungen) allzeit für gut Ausgab gelegt und aufgehobt (sic!) werden, Und Ir thut daran unser ernstliche Meinung.

Geben zu Tübingen den vi September Anno MDXXV.

VII.

Verweisungsbrief von König Ferdinand für Christoph v. Castilegio um 1460 Ducaten Soldrest auf Confiscationem & Contrabande.

Speier, am 25 April 1529.

Pergament mit kaiserlichem Siegel.¹

¹ The seal is in an exceptional condition of preservation, red, about three inches in diameter, and affixed to the document by a strip of parchment.

Aufschrift.

Von dyem hat er erhalten, laut anligend Aufmerk Zettel vnd Unkunde, so teutsch vnd welscht od. spanischen.

Bte. Tracurdt.

(other handwriting)

Christoff v. Castilegio, Solds verweisung.

1529, 25 April.

Wir Ferdinand von Gottes Gnaden in Ungarn, Böhmen, Dalmatien, Croatien etc. König, Infant von Hispanien, Erzherzog zu Osterreich, Herzog zu Burgund, zu Steier, Kärnthen, Crain und Würtemberger Grafe zu Tyrol—bekennen öffentlich mit diesem Briefe für uns und unsere Erben und Nachkommen, als uns unser getreuer, lieber Christoph von Castilegio, unser Secretar, eine Zeit lang in Hispanien vorher, ehe Wir hinaus in unsere österreichischen Lande kamen, gedient—und Wir ihm von derselben seiner Dienste wegen an seinem Sold und Lidlohn, nach Inhalt der Abraitung, derhalben mit ihm bestehen, schuldig geworden sein:

Ein tausend vierhundert und sechs und sechzig Ducaten, den Ducaten zu neunzig Kreuzern geraitten.—

Das Wir darauf ihm, dem v. Castilegio, zugesagt und geredt haben—deren solches Archivi amtlich und mit diesen Briefe—dass Wir ihm oder seinen Erben die angezeigte Summe Ducaten von fälligen der confiscierten Gutern, oder aber von Strafen der Contrabande so uns zustehen—und so uns eneigen werden, die vorhin von uns nicht vergeben sein—völliglich vergnügen, entrichten und bezahlen sollen und wollen, ohne Weigerung und Aufzug, eigentlich.—

Urkunde dieses Briefs.

Geben zu Speier, am fünfzehnten Tag des Monats Aprilis, nach Christi, unseres lieben Herrn Geburt, im fünfzehn hundert neun und zwanzigsten, unserer Reiche im dritten Jare.

Ferdinand.¹

¹ Sign manual of the King. The spelling of this document is normalized.

VIII.

1532—REGENSBURG.

Emperor Charles V raises the nobility of the Castillejo family, Peter, John and Antony, as an acknowledgment of their own and Christóbal's merits. They are raised to knighthood and their coat-of-arms is enlarged.

(*Staats Archiv*, Vienna, *Amtsregistratur K. Karls V.* Vol. 16, fol. 112.)

Nobilitatio et Armorum Amelioratio (pro Castilleio).

Carolus etc. fideli nobis dilecto Petro de Castilleio, civi Civitatensi in regno nostro Castellae gratiam etc.

Etsi hoc satis compertum sit, virtutem ipsam semper solere esse seipsa contentam, quam, veluti certa premia sequuntur honos amplitudo et gloria, attamen, cum illi magnorum principum decreto ac testimonio decoratur, eo se conspectiorem efficit hominesque ad se imitandum invitat et attrahit; et, cum huiusmodi sint tui, praefati Petri, virtutes animique dotes, ut, quemadmodum inter tuos equales eminent, ita etiam par sit, ut nostro testimonio ornentur, quo et ipsi indies crescant et ceteros ad earum imitationem adducant.

Accedant ad haec secretarii Christophori de Castilleio, fratris tuis, merita, qui serenissimo principi domino Ferdinando Romanorum ac Hongariae et Bohemiae regi, archiduci Austriae, fratri nostro charissimo, (sic!) ab ipsis incunabilis, non in Hispania modo sed in Gallia, Belgica et Germania et in utraque Pannonia et Bohemia nec in tranquillis sed in omnium turbatissimis et difficillimis temporibus, dum in Germania nunc haereses suppullulant, nunc civiles contentiones suboriuntur, in Pannonia autem et Austria saevissimus Turcharum tyrannus irruit et dum ipse frater noster regni Bohemiae primum, deinde Hungariae et Romanorum tandem regias coronas accepit, ea fide industria diligentia ac prudentia servivit et in praesentia quoque servit, ut res omnes suas secretiores eius fidei et taciturnitati commiserit ac hominem ad secreta quaeque et privata consilia admittit isque in his omnibus exequendis eum se prae-

stat, ut maiores indies promereatur, quae officia cum eaque nobis grata sint, acsi nobis ipsis praestarentur, illum certe dignum iudicamus, quem nonmodo muneribus afficiamus verum etiam illius intuitu te ac Joannez et Antonium de Castilleio, alterum ex fratre, alterum ex sorore nepotes vestros, nostra Caesarea munificentia decoremus, ut tua virtus illiusque merita, nostro testimonio approbata apud posteros maneant. Motu igitur proprio (etc.) vos, praefatos Petrum, Joannem et Antonium de Castillejo nobiles militares tormentarios fecimos (etc.)—Hos cesareo statuantes edicto (etc.)—Quo autem testimonium hoc nostrum latius (etc.) antiqua, quibus hucusque usus es, arma (videlicet scutum bipartitum, in cuius inferiori parte est castrum album sive argentum in campo rubeo, in superiore autem, quae tertiam tantum eiusdem scuti occupat, sunt tria lilia azurea in campo aureo,)—non modo per praesentes confirmamus, verum etiam haec illis adiungimus, videlicet tres Austriacas lusciniæ aureas in campo azureo, alis expansis pedibusque et caudis extensis, quae superiorem locum habeant, ut quod hactenus bipartitum deinceps tripartitum deferat; in circuitu autem scuti septem achanti, quorum tres inferiores in campo azureo, quatuor vero superiores in rubeo collocantur. In galea autem aureis et celestinis, rubeis et argenteis redimita laciniis super antiquorum regum aurea diademate lusciniæ aurea, ut in scuto, emineat, quemadmodum haec omnia melius etc. Volentes et auctoritate nostra caesarea decernentes (etc.) Aptique sitis (etc.) Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat, haec nostrae creationis erectionis confirmationis armorum concessionis decreti voluntatis et gratias paginam infringere (etc.), poenam sexaginta marcharum auri puri, pro meditate fisco nostro caesareo altera vero parte lese applicantes. Harum testimonio litterarum (etc.) Datum **Ratisponae**, die., mensis. . . . , anno domini **MDXXXII**, imperii nostri **XII** regnorum vero nostrorum dicimo septimo.

Carolus.

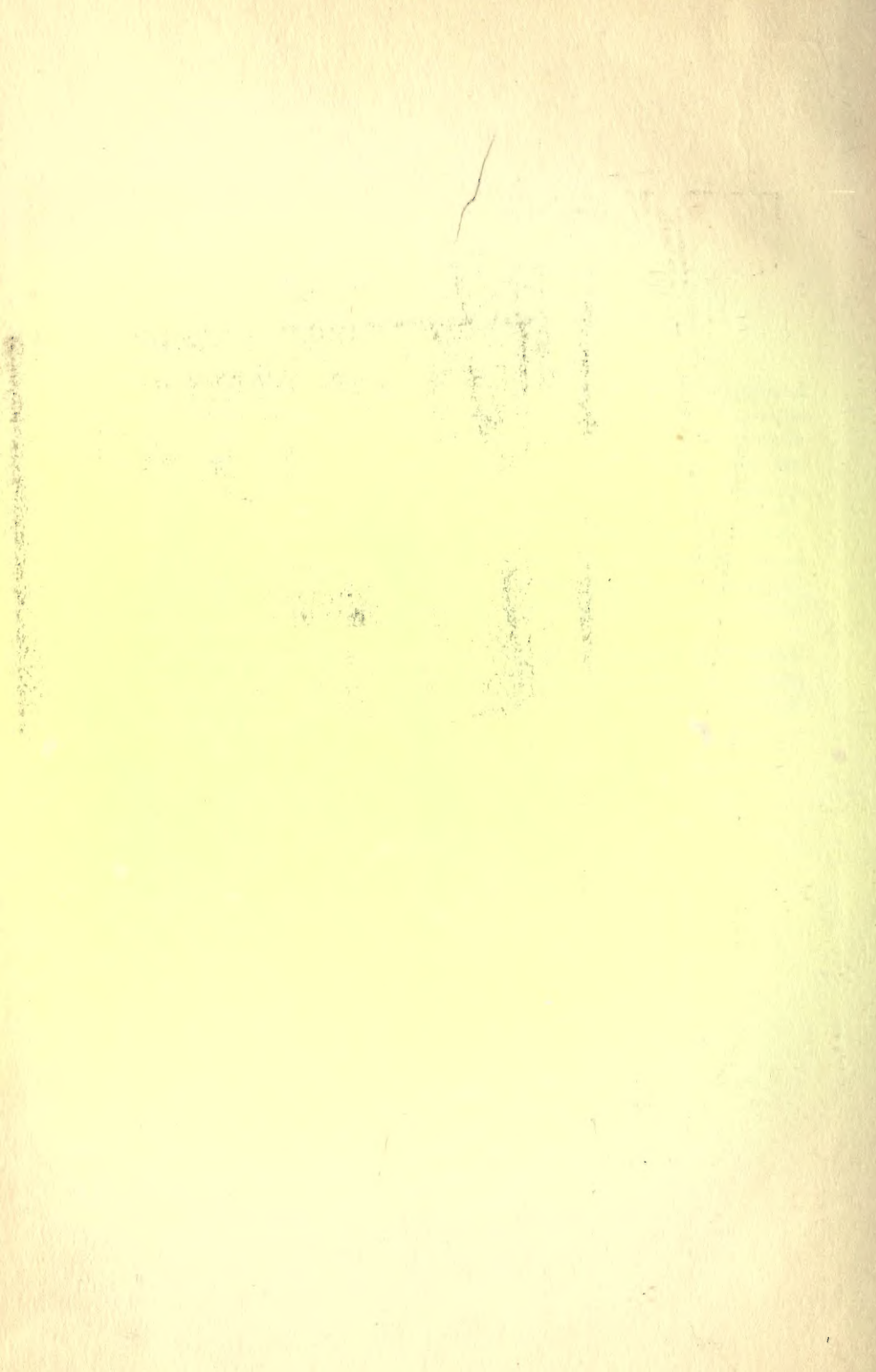
Admandatum etc.

A. Valdesius.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The first known collected edition of the works of Castillejo appeared at Madrid in 1573. It was expurgated by the Inquisition. Gayangos thinks that this is not the first edition (Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, Spanish translation, Vol. II, p. 500). This is also the opinion of Salvá, who describes the various editions in his *Catálogo*, Nos. 524, and foll. See also Gallardo, *Ensayo*, Vol. II, cols. 279-286. For Juan de Segura's *Proceso de Cartas de Amores*, etc., which appeared at Venice in 1553, and which contains the unexpurgated text of Castillejo's *Diálogo de las Condiciones de las Mugerres*, see Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 1676, where the portion is printed that is omitted in all other editions.

A manuscript copy of Castillejo's translation of Cicero's *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, together with the *Diálogo del Autor y su Pluma*, containing two dedications to an unknown patron, are in the Imperial Library, Vienna.



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